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# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

SOCIOLOGY, SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, AND SOCIAL WORK:

Articles by MAURICE J. KARFF and FAY B. KARFF

CASE RECORDING AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH:

Articles by ERNEST W. BURGESS, FRANK J. BRUNO, LINTON B. SWIFT,  
THOMAS D. ELIOT

THE INTERVIEW AS A PROCESS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION:

Articles by STUART A. QUEEN, VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON, HELEN L.  
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FAMILY DISCORD AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT:

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LUBIN

OTHER ARTICLES AND BOOK DISCUSSIONS AND BOOK REVIEWS

by A. F. KUEHLMAN, HARRIET L. HERRING, EARLE EDWARD EUBANK,  
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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES: Frontiers of Social Justice by HOWARD  
W. ODUM

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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

## FRONTIERS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

THIS issue of SOCIAL FORCES may well be dedicated to fifty-three pioneers on the Frontiers of Social Justice, presidents of fifty-five annual meetings of the National Conference of Social Work, formerly the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. The list is presented with date, with the title of position held by each president at the time of his incumbency, and in italics the title of the presidential address. In the earlier years no special subjects for addresses have been found. This list was prepared especially for SOCIAL FORCES by Clyde Russell Rhyne.

- |      |                                                                                                                                    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
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| 1928 | Sherman C. Kingsley, director, Welfare Federation, Philadelphia.<br><i>Who Needs Social Service?</i>                               | 1921 | Allen T. Burns, director, Study of Methods of Americanization, Carnegie Corporation, New York.<br><i>Does Social Work Promote Social Progress?</i>                                                                  |
| 1927 | John A. Lapp, director of the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Chicago.<br><i>Justice First.</i> | 1920 | Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York.<br><i>The Faith of A Social Worker.</i>                                                                                               |
| 1926 | Gertrude Vaile, formerly Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction.<br><i>Some Significant Trends since Cleveland 1912.</i> | 1919 | Julia C. Lathrop, chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington.<br><i>Child Welfare Standards a Test of Democracy.</i>                                                                                              |
| 1925 | William J. Norton, secretary, Community Fund, Detroit.<br><i>What is Social Work?</i>                                              | 1918 | Robert A. Woods, head of South End House, Boston.<br><i>The Regimentation of the Free.</i>                                                                                                                          |
| 1924 | Grace Abbott, chief, Children's Bureau, Washington.<br><i>Public Protection of Children.</i>                                       | 1917 | Frederic Almy, Charity Organization Society, Buffalo.<br><i>The Conquest of Poverty.</i>                                                                                                                            |
| 1923 | Homer Folks, secretary State Charities Aid Association, New York.<br><i>Prevention Succeeds.</i>                                   | 1916 | Francis H. Gavisk, rector, St. Johns, Indianapolis, Indiana.<br><i>The Scope of the Conference.</i>                                                                                                                 |
| 1922 | Robert W. Kelso, secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Boston.<br><i>Changing Fundamentals of Social Work.</i>                    | 1915 | Mary Willcox Glenn, teacher, New York.<br><i>A Prelude to Peace.</i>                                                                                                                                                |
|      |                                                                                                                                    | 1914 | Graham Taylor, professor of social economics, Chicago. Theological Séminary; Resident Warden, Chicago Commons Social Settlement.<br><i>The County: A Challenge to Humanized Politics and Volunteer Cooperation.</i> |
|      |                                                                                                                                    | 1913 | Frank Tucker, New York State Conference Charities and Correction, etc.<br><i>Social Justice.</i>                                                                                                                    |
|      |                                                                                                                                    | 1912 | Julian W. Mack, judge, U. S. Circuit Court.<br><i>Social Progress.</i>                                                                                                                                              |
|      |                                                                                                                                    | 1911 | Homer Folks, secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York.<br><i>The Rate of Progress.</i>                                                                                                                  |
|      |                                                                                                                                    | 1910 | Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.<br><i>Charity and Social Work.</i>                                                                                                                                                |
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## SOCIAL FORCES' CONTRIBUTORS

AT THE 1926 meeting of the American Sociological Society in St. Louis, the Executive Committee of the Society authorized the establishment of a section on Sociology and Social Work. This action was taken as a result of a great deal of interest and activity which were manifested at a meeting dealing with the subject of the Relation of Sociology to Social Work. The Committee in charge of the program decided to hold three meetings and to devote each of the meetings to a single subject to be presented in a paper by a sociologist and discussed by social workers and sociologists. Believing that these papers are invaluable for sociologists and social workers, SOCIAL FORCES arranged with M. J. Karpf, chairman of the Committee, to publish the main papers and the prepared discussions.

Dr. Karpf has done an excellent piece of work in getting together the papers presented in the 1927 meeting of the American Sociological Society dealing with this field. Special emphasis is placed upon the fourfold division of his topics as indicated on the outside cover of SOCIAL FORCES:

Sociology, Sociological Research, and  
Social Work

Case Recording and Sociological Research

The Interview as a Process of Social  
Interaction

Family Discord and Personality Development

Other contributions in this number of SOCIAL FORCES have been selected with a view to making the several departmental divisions appropriate for the special issue on sociology and social work. The editors and the University of North Carolina Press will be glad to have expressions as to the advisability of pub-

lishing later a volume on sociology and social work, in which selected papers will be presented alongside a special bibliography on the subject.

Dr. Fay B. Karpf discusses the spirit and atmosphere of the 1928 meeting, and raises a number of questions with reference to the relation of sociology as a science to social work as an applied field. Ernest W. Burgess, as secretary of the American Sociological Society, editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, an author and professor at the University of Chicago, has contributed recently also to *The Survey* and other important journals. Frank J. Bruno, chairman of the recent conference celebrating fifty years of family social work, is head of the School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis. Linton B. Swift is on the staff of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. Thomas D. Eliot is professor of sociology at Northwestern University and also contributes to this number a review of *Fear*. Stuart A. Queen is professor of sociology at the University of Kansas. He conducted the round table on the case method in research at the Christmas meeting of the American Sociological Society. Virginia P. Robinson was formerly secretary of the Association for Professional Schools of Social Work and is a member of the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work. Helen L. Myrick is with the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene. G. Eleanor Kimble is in the School of Public Welfare at Tulane University. E. H. Sutherland is a member of the faculty of the University of Minnesota and is completing a new volume on sociology. Ernest R. Groves is research professor at the University of North Carolina. His new *Introduction to Sociology* is just off the press, while his volume,

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*American Marriage and Family Relationships*, with W. F. Ogburn, is now in press with Henry Holt. Longmans will bring out his new volume on *Marriage Crisis*. Joanna C. Colcord is a member of the faculty of the University of Minnesota. Harry L. Lurie is on the staff of the Jewish Social Service Bureau in Chicago. A. F. Kuhlman, associate professor of sociology, University of Missouri, is on a leave of absence to complete the extensive biographical study on crime for the Social Science Research Council. Harriet L. Herring is research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Earle Eubank is spending his leave of absence from the University of Cincinnati in California in completing his book on *Sociological Concepts*. Elizabeth R. Hooker has prepared this survey under the direction of Edmund de S. Brunn. T. J. Wooster, Jr. is research professor in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. His most recent book,

*Negro Problems in Cities*, has been published by Doubleday, Doran. Arthur W. James is a member of the staff of the State Department of Public Welfare of Virginia. P. K. Whelpton, is associated with Warren S. Thompson in the Scripps Foundations, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Roy M. Brown is research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. Wiley B. Sanders and Harold D. Meyer are associate professors of sociology at the University of North Carolina. Bruce Melvin is a member of the faculty of Cornell University. Alva W. Taylor is head of the Board of Temperance and Social Welfare, of the Church of Christ. N. N. Puckett is instructor at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. His book on *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, published by the University of North Carolina Press, was awarded a place with the "Forty Notable American Books of 1927." Lee M. Brooks is instructor at the University of North Carolina.



# SOCIAL FORCES

June, 1928

## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK: A RETROSPECT\*

MAURICE J. KARPf

ANY attempt to treat adequately the development of the relation between sociology and social work would require our tracing out the history of the two fields in order to discover their points of convergence. We should have to consider at least some of the outstanding contributions to sociological theory especially when they impinge on social work. The points of view of Spencer and Sumner on the one hand and Comte and Ward on the other, to say nothing of their numerous followers, would have to be considered. They are of the utmost importance to social work if only because of the outlook which they would give the social worker who would accept the one or the other standpoint. The facts that social work has been thought of as applied sociology for a long time and that in some instances courses in social work are still listed as applied sociology are surely not without significance here and should be a promising lead for us to follow out. Interesting and profitable as such

investigations might be, they would, however, lead us too far afield for our immediate purpose. It seemed best, therefore, to limit this inquiry to an investigation of the official records of The American Sociological Society and to a consideration of some of the more recent literature dealing with both fields.<sup>1</sup>

For our purposes here the official relation between sociology and social work may be said to begin with the meeting, in Pittsburgh, in 1921, where the first attempt was made to outline the relation between sociology and social work. Indeed, this was the first time that the American Sociological Society took official cognizance of the fact that sociology might have some relation to social work, although it became conscious of such a relation to teaching and the training of teachers as early as 1915.<sup>2</sup> At this meeting provision was made for round-table

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from a paper on the Development of the Relation Between Sociology and Social Work, read before the American Sociological Society, December 29, 1926. The suggestion made in this paper that the American Sociological Society establish a section on Sociology and Social Work was adopted by the Society. The papers contained in this issue were presented at the first meetings of the new section held in Washington in 1927.

<sup>2</sup> See Report of the Committee on Sociology in

\* Dr. Karpf will be glad to have suggestions with reference to the program of the Division on Sociology and Social Work at the next meeting of the *American Sociological Society*. The information may be sent either to SOCIAL FORCES or to Dr. M. J. Karpf, 210 W. 91st Street, New York City.

discussions on the relation between sociology and social work and other subjects relating more specifically to social work processes. With regard to the relation between sociology and social work, two papers were read: one by Professor Eliot based on the returns to a questionnaire which had been sent to a number of more or less representative social workers for the purpose of getting their views first as to the value which sociology in its theoretical, historical, and applied aspects, is and can be to social work, and secondly, as to its importance as a basic subject, in training for the profession of social work. As a result of this inquiry he concluded that, "The contribution of undergraduate sociology to the equipment of the social worker is chiefly in the general perspective, restraint, and inspiration obtained, though applied sociology sometimes has specific value for technique."<sup>3</sup> According to him, sociology is important, at least in the pre-professional curriculum; and social workers, though frankly skeptical and rather critical of sociology are nevertheless interested in the subject, otherwise they would not stop to criticise it for, as he puts it, "one does not stop to kick a dead horse."

The other paper of that session on this subject was by Professor Todd who made a number of interesting and valuable suggestions on methods of teaching and content of courses in sociology based on his experience in preparing a curriculum for social work training with sociology as the background.

Both speakers were, on the whole, fairly definitely of the opinion that sociol-

ogy has a place in the training for social work and stressed the view that there is and that there should be more coöperation between sociology and social work. They both felt that each could profit from the other and that it was merely a question of working out a *modus operandi*.

The discussion which followed brought out a number of interesting and conflicting views. In his summary, the chairman of the meeting stated that "the sense of the meeting was clearly that sociology does have a contribution to make to the equipment of the social worker," although it consists largely "in adding to his fund of organized knowledge of the nature of social relationships in normal society and to his point of view toward social work rather than to the technique of community organization or even of 'getting Mrs. Jones to the clinic.'"<sup>4</sup>

It is, it seems to me, of significance to recall in this connection that at the time two gentlemen who have had a good deal of contact with sociology, social work, and more especially with the training of social workers "frankly questioned," and "doubted" this contribution and that a third person who has made a most important contribution to the training of social workers and who holds a very strategic position in influencing social workers believed in it but was not clear just what this contribution is.<sup>5</sup>

In other ways also was this meeting indicative of a realization of the possible contribution which sociology could make to social work and vice versa. One of the persons who "questioned" the possible contribution of sociology to social work suggested at another divisional meeting "that the American Sociological Society take such steps as may be found advisable

the Training of Teachers, *Pub. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. IX, 1915. Also Sociology in the Education of Teachers, *Pub. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> Eliot, Thomas D. *Pub. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Pub. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

to help the agencies of social work to devise such records as will make the material (collected by the agencies) of scientific as well as practical value." He went on to say that "if the sociologist will advise with the social worker as to what material and form would be desirable in these records from the point of view of a science of society and teaching requirements, such suggestions would be most welcome and would probably add also to the practical value of these records."<sup>6</sup> He suggested that a joint committee of the American Sociological Society and The National Conference of Social Work could work on this matter, a suggestion that has been carried into effect since then at least so far as this society is concerned. Just how these suggestions can be reconciled with his skepticism about any relation between sociology and social work is not altogether clear.

Still at a different session of the same annual meeting, Professor Gillin, reporting for the Research Committee of the American Sociological Society, stated that "a neglected field of scientific research is that of social psychology." After pointing out what such a study should consist of and how informative it could be he went on to say that "there is a world of material for such a study all about. Case histories in dozens of social agencies, and in courts, furnish raw material for the social psychologist. Such a social psychology, (according to him), would not be remote from the interest of the social worker. It would be as vital to the social practitioner as anatomy and physiology are to the practicing physician or the nurse. It would bring order out of the present chaos in what is now poorly named 'community organization.'"<sup>7</sup>

The meetings of the society during the following year (1922) were also fruitful, at least so far as common thinking on the problem of training for social work is concerned. The conference on the Training of Social Workers at which Professor Gillin reviewed the Tufts Report on *Education and Training for Social Work* served to emphasize the need for "a background education in the sciences bearing upon social problems," of which need there is in his opinion a "deplorable lack of appreciation by social workers and agencies."<sup>8</sup> He went on to say that "in many cases there is also no appreciation by teachers and officers of educational institutions of the importance of hard discipline to honest-to-goodness field work under competent instruction. . . . The social worker and the professor must get together to their mutual advantage and to the benefit of the student. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

A number of other attempts have been made since then to point out the relation between sociology and social work. Professor Eliot carried his original study to completion and threw a great deal of light on the attitudes of social workers throughout the country toward the importance of sociology as a subject in the prevocational training of social workers. His studies would seem to indicate, however, that social workers in general are far from being convinced that sociology is of much importance to social work. In fact, economics and psychology are frequently considered as having greater value for social workers than sociology.<sup>10</sup> Even in the case of applied sociology, which might be assumed to be rather closely allied to

<sup>6</sup> *Pub. Am. Soc. Sec.*, Vol. XVII, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Eliot, Thomas D. *Sociology as a Prevocational Subject: The Verdict of Sixty Social Workers. Am. Jour. of Soc.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 744 (see note to Table VIII).

<sup>6</sup> *Pub. Am. Soc. Sec.*, Vol. XVI, p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> *Pub. Am. Soc. Sec.*, Vol. XVI, p. 248.



social work, there are as many executives who consider it of no value when engaging staff members as there are those who consider it of considerable value. Curiously enough, theoretical and historical sociology receive more favorable consideration from executives, in this regard, than does applied sociology.<sup>11</sup> Of significance is the fact also that three schools of social work felt keenly enough on the subject to express themselves on the valuelessness of sociology as a background even though there was no question to that effect on their questionnaire.<sup>12</sup> It should be a matter of some concern to teachers of applied sociology, it seems to me, that their subject even though it includes Social Economy and Charities and Corrections<sup>13</sup> ranks practically no higher from the standpoint of having "specific value for technique" than does theoretical sociology.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, of seventy-five persons sufficiently interested in the "specific technique value" of the three branches of sociology to express themselves, only twenty-nine or thirty-eight percent gave applied sociology first rank.<sup>15</sup> Sociology fares slightly better with regard to its "general value for point of view." But even here only fifty-eight out of seventy-five persons replying are willing to go down on record as holding that sociology, regardless of what its nature may be, has any value for developing a desirable point of view for social work.<sup>16</sup>

Other equally interesting and perhaps also somewhat disconcerting deductions might be made from his compilations,<sup>16</sup>

but enough has been said to indicate what the situation is or at least was in 1921.<sup>17</sup>

The interest engendered and displayed in the relation between sociology and social work in the meetings of 1921 and 1922 was not followed up in any concrete or definite manner. While Dr. Healy was invited to read a paper on the contribution which case studies can make to sociology<sup>18</sup> nothing of any practical value was done and the subject does not come up again for consideration at the meetings of this society until today. There were, of course, some papers and sessions on subjects of specific social work interests, such as the session on the family during the meetings of last year. But aside from these, no thought was given to our subject, at least so far as the program of the Society is concerned. Even the committee which was appointed by the Society to study the value which case records might have as teaching material, has never reported if the official proceedings are to be taken as an index.

So much then for the evidence regarding the activities of the American Sociological Society. Let us next consider some of the other evidences which may indicate a recognition of the existence of a relationship between sociology and social work.

A thorough consideration of all of the evidence would require, in addition to the studies suggested by Dr. Eliot,<sup>19</sup> an examination of the contributions to the periodicals devoted to sociology and social work, especially the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES*, the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, the *Survey* and the *Family*. In addition to these, the Pro-

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. (See Table IX).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 741.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 742 (See Table VI).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 742 (See Table VI).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 743 (See Table VII).

<sup>16</sup> See also "The Social Workers Criticism of Undergraduate Sociology." *JOUR. SOCIAL FORCES*, Vol. II, pp. 306-12.

<sup>17</sup> Though his study was published in 1924, it was based on material collected in 1921 and therefore can only be taken as indicative of the attitudes prevailing at that time.

<sup>18</sup> *Pub. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 147-155.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Pub. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, p. 237.



ceedings of the National Conference of Social Work would have to be studied in order to see what they contain, which would indicate the existence or absence of the relations in which we are interested; the books recently written in both fields would have to be examined and the various research projects dealing with different aspects of social work under way by students and faculties of sociology in the various universities would have to be reviewed; the membership and attendance lists of both societies would have to be analyzed in order to determine how much overlapping there is; and last, but not least, the curricula of the professional schools and their admission requirements would have to be examined for information on how important a place sociology holds in them. Such an inquiry would require a great deal more time for completion than was available for the preparation of this paper, or would be available, for that matter, for the presentation of the information, were it available. However, even the mere mention of the foregoing items will bring up a number of associations in the minds of most people here, which, if they should be tabulated, would be the strongest possible proof that the two fields are closely inter-related. It may be suggestive therefore, to examine, even though superficially, such information as is more easily at hand, and see what light it throws on the question under consideration.

If one were to judge from the contents of the *American Journal of Sociology*, the official organ of this society, social work is almost non-existent as a field of interest for sociology. With the exception of the abstracts in which articles on social work frequently figure, very little space is devoted to social work as such. The only articles appearing in this journal in the last few years, which are of special

interest to us in this inquiry, are two contributions: one by Dr. Eliot reporting the results of his study, already alluded to,<sup>20</sup> and one by Dr. Burgess on the "Delinquent as a Person," a sociological interpretation of the delinquent from the standpoint of the fundamental wishes formulated by Thomas.<sup>21</sup> Whether this is because the editors consciously adopted the policy of limiting its field to purely sociological subjects, or whether there is such an abundance of material on theoretical sociology that it crowds out all else, an explanation which would seem to be suggested by the editors' recent decision to increase the size of the publication,<sup>22</sup> the fact remains that the official publication of the American Sociological Society has done little to foster an interest on the part of its readers in social work as a possible source of sociological data. This takes on added significance, when it is borne in mind that a large number of social workers are members of the Society and also subscribers to the *JOURNAL*. (An occupational analysis of the membership of 1926 made for this study reveals the interesting fact that social workers constitute the largest single group in the Society, outside of the sociologists themselves.)

What has been said about the *American Journal of Sociology*, with regard to the space it devotes to social work, may be said to be true about the *Survey*, the so-called "trade organ" of social work, insofar as sociology is concerned. Sociology as a subject having any contribution to social work, is conspicuously absent from its pages, despite the fact that considerable space is frequently devoted to matters

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Burgess, E. W. "The Delinquent As A Person." *Am. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 657-680.

<sup>22</sup> See Editor's announcement, *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. XXXII, July, 1926.

bearing on the other social sciences, especially economics and political science. (The *Survey Graphic* is of course an exception because it aims to treat a single subject more or less exhaustively from various viewpoints.) The same may be said to be true of the other important social work periodical, the *Family*. Here, as in the *Survey*, one finds scarcely a hint of what the two fields could do for each other. To be sure, these journals are replete with articles dealing with what could be important material for sociological analysis, as, for instance, the series of articles in the *Family* on immigrant backgrounds.<sup>22</sup> But thus far there seems to be little recognition that such analysis would be of value to its readers. Occasionally one finds articles by out and out sociologists. But these are usually definitely concerned with the subject matter of social work.

It was no doubt this sharp division of interests and the feeling on the part of many that the gap should be bridged that prompted the launching of the *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES* and the *Journal of Applied Sociology*.<sup>24</sup> These journals, though serving very largely the same public as the two periodicals just discussed, really meet a definite need, as their popularity would seem to indicate. (The *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES*, or as it is now called *SOCIAL FORCES*, has definitely sought to serve each of the two groups and provided a common meeting ground for them. Here one finds contributions to sociological theory and social work practice at the same time. As we might expect, this journal is more directly concerned with our subject than any of the others. Three papers which appeared recently deal specifically with the subject of our dis-

cussion. One of these by Professor Eliot, has already been referred to.<sup>25</sup> Another is by Professor Burgess on the *Inter-dependence of Sociology and Social Work*. He points out that although each of these had a different origin and has a different purpose, they both converge in research, in which they are equally interested. He points out further that sociology can contribute to social work in making available to it such concepts as "social forces," "wishes," "folkways," and the various "diagnostic concepts of disorganization." On the other hand, social work can contribute the materials accumulating in the various social agencies for teaching purposes.<sup>26</sup>

The third paper is on "The Relation Between Sociology and Social Work." This paper first discusses the antagonism and the mutual lack of confidence between sociologists and social workers and the reasons for these. It then proceeds to indicate how some of the concepts developed by sociology might be applied to social work, and presents some concrete situations illustrating their possible application. The point is made that just as sociology can contribute helpful concepts for analyzing and understanding human nature, so can social work contribute its vast store of accumulated experience and knowledge to the upbuilding of a scientific sociology. Also, social work could and no doubt would supply inexhaustible laboratory facilities for testing, proving or disproving what are so far only interesting speculations and generalizations on the part of sociology.<sup>27</sup>

There are other contributions to this

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Burgess, E. W. "The Interdependence of Sociology and Social Work," *JOUR. SOCIAL FORCES*, Vol. I, pp. 366-370, May, 1923.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Karpf, M. J. "The Relation Between Sociology and Social Work," *JOUR. SOCIAL FORCES*, Vol. III, pp. 1-8.

<sup>25</sup> See *Family*, Vol. I, pp. 18-21; Vol. IV, pp. 160-164; Vol. VI, pp. 107-110, 181-184.

<sup>26</sup> See Editor's Announcement, *JOUR. SOCIAL FORCES*, Vol. I, pp. 56-61.

journal and likewise to the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, which while dealing less avowedly with the question of relation are nevertheless of considerable importance to us, because they illustrate how really close the two fields are and how much each has to offer to the other. But time does not permit our going into further detail here.

One of the striking evidences of the growing recognition of the relation between sociology and social work is the series of Americanization studies of the Carnegie Corporation. This series was undertaken as an attempt to aid social workers and others concerned with the practical problems in the Americanization process. In the words of the Editor: "It arose out of the fact that constant applications were being made to the Corporation for contributions to the work of numerous agencies engaged in various forms of social activity intended to extend among the people of the United States the knowledge of their government and the obligations to it."<sup>28</sup> That sociology and sociologists should be turned to in such a connection is, in itself, a significant index of the realization that the fields of social work and theoretical sociology are inter-related. Fortunately, sociology rose to the occasion and made some important contributions which have already noticeably influenced not only Americanization work and workers, but also social workers in other fields.

But the sociologists' contribution to the Americanization studies is by no means the only instance of the interest on the part of sociologists in problems relating definitely to social work. In the last few years, a number of noteworthy attempts have been made to relate sociological theory to social work. The works

of Todd, Thomas, Gillin, Chapin and more recently the writings of Steiner, Queen and Sutherland are interesting illustrations of this trend. Surely the fact that the Century Series on Social Work is being edited by a sociologist is not without significance in this connection.

I cannot leave this topic without mentioning at least the numerous research projects under way in the various departments of sociology throughout the country. Whether it is because social work offers the most fruitful field for sociological research and doctoral dissertations, or whether it is because the tendency is to give students more concrete problems for research, a perusal of any list of research projects reveals more problems related to social work especially as regards community organization and delinquency than to any other single subject.<sup>29</sup> Just what influence this type of research will have on social work is, of course, impossible to foretell. It can hardly be questioned, however, that the contact which these future teachers of sociology are bound to have with social work and workers and the contact which social workers will have with the scientific approach to social problems are bound to influence both. It is likely to develop in the future sociologists a sound respect for the concrete and practical approach of the social worker, and it is just as likely to engender in the social worker a greater confidence in and respect for the sociological approach and point of view. In the words of Professor Giddings, "Sociology cannot give social workers rules of technique as yet. But sociology can give them and should give them poise and balance, a comprehensive view, a sense of relative values, an apprehension of proportions

<sup>28</sup> See Foreword to "*The Immigrant Press and Its Control*" by Robert E. Park. (Harper and Brothers, 1922.)

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 96-104; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-90; Vol. XXIX, pp. 85-95.



and probabilities."<sup>30</sup> Contact between the two fields is bound to result in a more scientific sociology, as well as in a more scientific type of social work.

From what has been said it would seem only fair to conclude that thus far the sociologists have been more ready to utilize social work and to contribute to it than social work has been to seek or even to accept these contributions. Just what this seeming indifference on the part of social work is due to is, of course, difficult to tell. It would seem, however, that the schools of social work could be an important factor in the situation. It is really they that should endeavor to bridge the gap and make available to social work that which is applicable to it regardless where it comes from.<sup>31</sup> Let us, therefore, see what the attitude of the schools of social work is toward sociology.

Despite the fact that the first school of social work in this country started as an independent enterprise, other schools are usually closely related to sociology. An examination of twenty-five of the foremost colleges and universities throughout the country which have schools of social work or which offer courses in social work shows that with the exception of two or three instances the schools are the direct offspring of the departments of sociology. In those institutions which offer courses in social work, such courses are almost exclusively offered by members of the departments of sociology. In the light of this, the fact that three schools went out of their way to indicate in Dr. Eliot's questionnaire, that sociology is not especially helpful as a background to social work, is somewhat startling.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Giddings, F. H. *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, p. 99. (University of North Carolina Press, 1924.)

<sup>31</sup> Karpf, M. J. *Proc. Nat. Conf. Soc. Work*, 1925, p. 652.

<sup>32</sup> See *supra*, p. 6.

Moreover, we were told recently by a person in authority in one of the larger colleges that schools of social work prefer students who have not had sociology because they have less to unlearn. It cannot be said that these are isolated instances. A casual study of the catalogues of the schools of social work reveals that sociology is usually not mentioned as a prerequisite for admission, and so far as my knowledge goes the Association of Professional Schools of Social Work has not declared itself as favoring such background.

Professor Steiner, in a chapter on training in his recent book on *Community Organization* published sometime during 1925, says that the minimum requirement for social work "would seem to be the usual undergraduate courses in sociology, economics, political science, psychology and biology." He goes on to say that the value of such a requirement is now quite generally recognized by those interested in the professional education of social workers.<sup>33</sup> He expressed a similar view in his earlier study (1920) on *Education for Social Work*, a view in which Professor Tufts concurred.<sup>34</sup> It is of interest, therefore, to quote a recently published pamphlet by the American Association of Social Workers on this subject. We are informed here that "A well rounded college curriculum affording a broad cultural education is regarded as the best preparation for training in family case work, rather than a course of study too closely related to the social sciences."<sup>35</sup> This pamphlet came out in June of 1926,

<sup>33</sup> Steiner, J. F. *Community Organization*, pp. 379-80. (The Century Company, 1925.)

<sup>34</sup> Tufts, James R. *Education and Training for Social Work*, p. 152. (The Russell Sage Foundation, 1921.)

<sup>35</sup> *Vocational Aspects of Family Social Work*, Pub. by the American Association of Social Workers, 1926, p. 22.



about a year after Professor Steiner's book was published and more than five years after he wrote that one of the characteristics of the institutions offering training for social work "is their insistence on prerequisite studies in the social sciences as a basis for professional instruction."<sup>36</sup>

In light of the above it may well be doubted whether the kind of relationship which some of us would like to see developed between sociology and social work is likely to be brought about in the very near future. One effective method would be to establish a section or division in this society on Sociology and Social Work. Such a section could not only further a relationship which would be helpful to

both fields but it could be instrumental in developing a body of material on the applications of sociology which would give it new and added recognition as the science of human behavior. However, important as the establishment of such a section would be for developing a mutually helpful relationship, it will not come unless sociology, conscious of its developing technique and its great promise, should become more critical of itself than it has been hitherto and build up a science of human behavior. Until then, there will be those partisans who will extol its virtues beyond their worth and others who will scoff at the view that sociology has any contribution to make to social work, and for that matter, to any field concerned with the practical problems of human relationships.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Steiner, J. F. "Education for Social Work." *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 499.

## SOCIOLOGY, SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, AND THE INTEREST IN APPLICATIONS: THE WASHINGTON (1927) MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FAY B. KARP

IN THE minds of most informed people at the present time, the question of scientific sociology hinges upon the important question of effective methods of sociological research and investigation. Sociology is no longer on the defensive as a conception. At any rate in this country conditions have been such, that the attitude toward sociology has on the whole gradually become not merely tolerant but expectant. We have gradually learned to extend our faith in the possibilities of science also to this new field of endeavor, so that at the present time there is a generally encouraging air which bodes well for sociology.

A concrete indication of this, is the unprecedented financial support of sociological research which the last few years have brought forth. And it is partly because of this growing community interest in sociological research, and partly because the general trend of development in sociology has now for some time been in the direction of strengthening its factual foundations, that the problems of sociological research and investigation are pressing forward for consideration at this time, with an insistence that is almost a challenge. We are in consequence witnessing in the field of sociology, a shift of attention from broad generalization to

systematic investigation, which marks the beginning, it can hardly be doubted, of a similar change to that which all fields of modern science underwent when they began to reconstruct themselves on a factual basis.

It is of course not to be expected that long-standing differences of conception and outlook can vanish over night, or that specialized interests should not at times come into conflict. Accordingly, alongside of the differences of standpoint and approach centering about the present-day concentration of interest in sociological research and investigation, the old refrain still hangs on. Sociology is essentially a philosophical discipline, given to the manipulation of abstract concepts and deductive interpretations, not a scientific technique directed to the inductive investigation of concrete social conditions and problems. It has no methodology of factual procedure, no dependable tools of specialized research, no program of acceptable verification.

But the sociologist who is directing his attention to the scientific advance of his discipline, is not unduly distressed by this, and he no longer finds it necessary to reply except as he may hope to indirectly, in terms of concrete accomplishments.

Has it ever been otherwise in the history of scientific development? he reflects. Always the forward movement of science has been met with the dictum "It can't be done" and always science, refusing to be turned aside from its objective, has proved that it *can* be done. The time is past when the sociologist needs spend his best effort in this sort of generalized controversy. Instead, he can confidently direct his energies to the exploitation of the opportunities that are for the first time before him, feeling certain that the future is with scientific sociology, as it was with scientific astronomy three hundred

years ago, with scientific physics two hundred years ago, with scientific biology a hundred years ago, with scientific psychology fifty years ago. The only question is whether it is to be the very near future or the more distant future. How is sociology preparing to answer this question?

Several lines of evidence suggest themselves, but with the interest here focussed upon the meetings in Washington, it is appropriate to turn to them for illustration.

The meetings opened with the "Division on Social Research." Ten-minute reports on research projects. This session was followed by a round-table on "The Technique of Statistical Analysis of Sociological Problems." And this meeting again was followed later by others on "The Technique of Social Surveys" and "The Technique of the Case Method." Then there was the "Division on Methods of Research" and the various special reports of research work in progress. And throughout in these sessions and special meetings, the same emphasis on research, investigation, experimentation, method.

An example may be of value. In the "Division on Methods of Research," a report concerned itself with the "Correlation of the Rate of Juvenile Delinquency with Certain Indices of Community Organization." The suggestion was made that the delinquency rate may be used to study the play of community factors in delinquency. Community influence in delinquency, it was pointed out, is clearly revealed in the life histories of delinquents and in the decided concentration of cases of delinquency in particular areas of the city. Sample correlations of delinquency rate and such community factors as the rate of family dependency in the community, the percentage of families owning homes, the percentage increase and decrease of population, etc., were then

presented for consideration as illustrations of the possibilities of the suggested standpoint and approach.

But whatever the central subject of discussion, whether it happened to be family disorganization or the development of behavior patterns, over and over again the same emphasis and interest came into evidence. This emphasis and interest, which may be said to have been the dominant note of this year's meetings, as they have increasingly been for the last few years, were definitely formulated by Professor Cooley at the annual dinner. "Everybody is talking about research, so why shouldn't I?" he asked. And talking about it, he sounded a wholesome note of warning about keeping the sociological perspective in view in our research, a point which he later strengthened by illustration in his report on the "Case Study of Small Institutions as a Method of Research." Sociology is essentially interested in understanding functional wholes, he pointed out. Its "instruments of precision" must be such, therefore, as record organic activity, conformations, patterns, systems, living wholes, total situations. From a somewhat different standpoint this approach was stressed again in the Presidential Address, which centered about a description of "the situational procedure" in the investigation of sociological problems as distinguished from more analytical and partial procedures.

"A tremendous searching about" one observer aptly characterized the dominant tone of the meetings. "A tremendous searching about," for the fundamentals of sociological research technique and methodology. This is how sociology is preparing to answer the question raised above. Who that is at all acquainted with the history of science, can doubt the outcome? We are surely entering upon a new era of sociological development in this country.

It is through this searching about for the fundamentals of sociological research technique and methodology, and the concentration of interest in research and investigation which it reflects, that general sociology links up most intimately at the present time with the interest in applications, as represented by the special sections on "The Family," "The Community," "Rural Sociology," "Sociology and Social Work," "Educational Sociology," "The Sociology of Religion." It is precisely the present-day concentration of sociological interest in research and investigation that is drawing these special fields toward general sociology with a new feeling of kinship and common purpose. For not only is it in research and investigation that such applicable information as these special fields are interested in, is accumulated, but the technique of accumulating such information, it increasingly appears, is itself variously adaptable to the special purposes of these fields of activity.

Accordingly, the committee in charge of the newly organized section on "Sociology and Social Work," started out with the condition that the question as to whether there is a basic connection between these two fields of endeavor be ruled out of consideration to begin with, and that the discussion be directed entirely to the working out of effective channels of coöperation. It is on this basis that the three sessions dealing respectively with "What Social Case Work Records Should Contain to be Useful for Sociological Interpretation," "Some Sociological Suggestions for the Treatment of Family Discord by Social Workers" and "Social Interaction in the Interview" were organized. And the many-sided discussion which developed in the consideration of these subjects, provides much food for thought on the part of both these developing fields.



To what extent can these two fields meet on common ground without jeopardizing the central interests of each? To what extent can each safely go out of its way to coöperate with the other when their central interests diverge? To what extent must each go its own way in order that the best interests of both may finally be served? These are considerations of fundamental importance for any field of science and any field of practice. But they have a special significance in this connection, both because of the peculiar nature of the material with which sociology and social work are concerned and the peculiar histories of the two techniques involved.

Sociology has too often until recently been entirely too much detached from concrete affairs. And social work has until recently not infrequently taken pride in the dogma that it has built itself up without the aid of any field of theory. Some sociologists still look with disfavor on the recent attempt of sociology to associate itself more closely with social work, recalling the recent fate of the social survey, for instance, and some social workers still prefer to remain apart from sociology.

It is, therefore, that something of a responsibility rests on the shoulders of the sponsors of this newly formed section of sociology and social work. And it is of course sufficiently clear that sociology and social work are distinct procedures even if they are sometimes identified in name, that each has interests and objectives of its own, and that these sometimes converge and sometimes diverge. Sociology must after all seek above all else to preserve its objectivity and perspective, and social work must likewise seek above all else to preserve its identification with and sensitiveness to the requirements of the moment. Sociology as a science must aim first and foremost at

knowledge; it can only hope that practical applications will follow. Social work as a practice must likewise aim first and foremost at service; it can only interest itself in science as a means. These are fundamental differences, but they are at present greatly accentuated by the divergent paths which sociology and social work have until recently followed, and by the fact that both of these fields are still very new insofar as the integration of the scientific approach is concerned.

Sociology has just begun to face squarely the serious task of strengthening its scientific foundations by systematic research and investigation. It needs time and scope to feel its way. On the other hand the demands of social work, even more than the demands of most fields of practice, are insistent and pressing. Social work cannot wait; it must act, and it needs help today.

Sociology and social work have suffered in the past from too much isolation from each other, and this section stands as the latest expression of the conviction dominating a growing number of both sociologists and social workers, that their respective fields have need of a closer association at this time. On the other hand, the verdict of scientific history is unequivocal in pointing out that the demands of any field of practice, certainly in such a new field as social work, are an unsafe guide for science, and that the broad activities of science, certainly in such a new field as sociology, are necessarily not always to the immediate purposes of practice.

Sociology is for the most part not in a position, as yet, to supply the sort of technical information in which alone social work has hitherto been interested. It has to offer instead a broad perspective, a balanced outlook, an immensely valuable point of view, and some very illuminating

general tools of analysis, the specific applications of which remain still to be worked out. On the other hand social work, more than most professional fields, has had its view focussed on technique. What about "getting Mrs. Jones to the clinic?" is the consideration which is and which for the present must remain uppermost in the social worker's mind. And yet we have here only another form of the *cui bono* question in science, and it is well to remember that this has never been an acceptable criterion for scientific endeavor.<sup>1</sup>

How to bring these differences of objective, interest and approach harmoniously together in the formulation of a concrete program which will be for the best interests of both fields, is the problem. The first step in dealing successfully with such a situation is frankly to recognize the difficulties involved, and the sessions brought these into striking relief in several connections. An important consideration was brought strikingly into view, for instance, by Linton B. Swift when he questioned the validity of the implication in the paper under discussion during the first session, "that usefulness for social case work is synonymous with usefulness for sociological interpretation."

Of course it is true [he said] that most thoughtful case workers are dissatisfied with present methods of record keeping for the purposes of social diagnosis and treatment, and it is perhaps also true that any improvement which results in a *more accurate* picture of the client's situation for treatment purposes will incidentally mean an improvement for purposes of sociological interpretation. But the reverse is not

necessarily true; an improvement and particularly an addition of material for purposes of sociological interpretation does not necessarily meet the needs of case work.

As used by the case worker, the ultimate purpose of a case record must be treatment based upon the needs of the individual case. It is according to these varying needs that the information and proportionate emphases in the record must be determined, and these emphases are not the same as they would be for research purposes. . . . To change that emphasis in order to increase the research values of the case record might throw out of gear the whole process of diagnosis and treatment.

"One of the two Gods, Science or Welfare, must subserve the other," is the way the issue was put in clear-cut terms in another connection. Between Science and Welfare there is of course in the long run no conflict, for science *is* for welfare in the broad sense, and welfare, if it is to be effective, must build on science. But science needs a long-time point of view and the long-time point of view is not only new to social work, but it must in any event remain subordinate to its response to the present. There may, therefore, be some conflict in any given situation.

But perhaps the different purposes of sociology and social work, came to clearest expression in the third session, which centered about a report of an analytical study of one of the social work processes. Social workers and a sociologist co-operated in making the analysis in the first place, but it was nevertheless evident that there were some distinct differences of view regarding the study on the part of these two groups. To the sociologists, the experiment reported seemed, on the whole, to be pregnant with promise. To the social workers, it appeared to be fraught with grave danger. The question was raised with entire seriousness and validity as to the justification of scientific analysis on the part of the social worker, on the ground that such analysis may

<sup>1</sup> No great law in Natural Philosophy," said Lord Kelvin, "has ever been discovered for its practical applications, but instances are innumerable of investigations apparently quite *useless*, in this narrow sense of the word, which have led to the most valuable results." (Quoted by J. Arthur Thomson in his *Introduction to Science*, p. 243.)

become detrimental to the real purpose of social work.

Do you all remember, [said one of the participants in the discussion], the verse about the happy, efficient little insect who was going about his business of walking along the leaf rapidly and skilfully, quite unmindful of his hundred legs until some analytical observer asked him which leg followed which, and he then became so self-conscious and confused that it was impossible for him to walk at all? Perhaps there are case workers who can note which thing follows which quite accurately, but aren't they in danger, if not of stopping walking, at least of forgetting in what direction they were headed or what their goal is or why they want to get there?

The characteristic technique of the social worker, according to the testimony, is *feeling with* her client. She must above all *care* about getting his difficulties removed. Emotional identification and participation, therefore, rather than scientific detachment, is for her the important consideration.

In the case work relationship the worker's goal is . . . to be free from self-consciousness . . . in order to respond sensitively to the changing emotional need of the patient. The movement in an interview is in flow of feeling and emotion . . . so subtly recorded that we have little skill to read them consciously aright. On the other hand we respond to them intuitively by that process of feeling with the other person in the total identification with his feeling state.

How to work these differences of objective, interest and approach into a program of helpful coöperation, such as will make for the best interest of both fields, it is worth repeating, is the problem. Here is a bit of delicate adjustment worthy of the best efforts of both sociologist and social worker. For upon the success with which they work it out, will depend the fruitfulness of the undertaking upon which they are jointly engaged in the newly organized section of "Sociology and Social Work."

## WHAT SOCIAL CASE RECORDS SHOULD CONTAIN TO BE USEFUL FOR SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

ERNEST W. BURGESS

**W**HAT should social case records contain to be useful for sociological interpretation? They should contain what will render them valuable for social case work, that and no more. This answer will, I know, perplex and astonish many social workers and sociologists. It seems too easy an answer to be entirely honest, too simple a solution to be adequate; in short, it seems too good to be true. Sociologists, moreover, will be quick to point out that social case records as they stand are not satisfactory for

sociological analysis. At the same time, however, I find that many if not all the more progressive and discerning social workers are dissatisfied with their present methods of record keeping for the purposes of social diagnosis and treatment. The time, then, seems ripe to raise the question of the joint interest of social workers and sociologists in the content and form of social case records.

It is probably not necessary to rehearse here the trend of sociology and social work toward a common interest in the



person in his family and community relationships and toward a similar conviction of the value of research as the basis both of scientific knowledge and of practical action. Sociologists and social workers are not yet, perhaps, in the same universe of discourse; but if they are not speaking exactly the same language, they are, at least, talking more and more about the same things.

The perception that "the relation of the individual to the group" is the basic problem both of research in sociology and of treatment in social work is at last becoming clearly recognized. This notion is not a new one, either in sociology or in social work. Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer grappled with it, but it remained for Charles H. Cooley to give an adequate definition of the relationship of the individual to the group in his description of human nature as a social product. He says:

Human nature is not something existing separately in the individual but a group nature. . . . It means, particularly, sympathy and the innumerable sentiments into which sympathy enters, such as love, resentment, ambition, vanity, hero-worship, and the social feeling of right and wrong. It is always safe to assume that people are and have been human.<sup>1</sup>

Much earlier, but in different language, this conception of man's social nature became, as Mary Richmond pointed out, a motivating force of a small group within the charity organization movement. Miss Richmond says:

As early as 1869, the year in which the London Charity Organization Society was founded, Miss Octavia Hill had given, before the Social Science Association, the first description that we have been able to find of inquiry with social reinstatement as its motive and aim. It is the first passage in which the human being himself, in his social as distinguished from his economic environment, seems to emerge. "By character more is meant than whether

a man is a drunkard or a woman is dishonest; it means knowledge of the passions, hopes, and history of people; where the temptation will touch them, what is the little scheme they have made of their lives, or would make, if they had encouragement; that training long past phases of their lives may have afforded; how to move, touch, teach them."<sup>2</sup>

It is not claimed that research in sociology is as yet adequately based upon the implications of Cooley's definition of human nature, nor that social work has achieved in its technique the expectation suggested by the insight of Octavia Hill. But no one would question the fact that both sociology and social work have taken long strides in this common direction. That is why, I take it, that sociology, beginning as a cosmic philosophy, and social work, having its origins in relief giving, are closer today than ever before in the realization of a common objective, what Miss Richmond terms "the power to analyze a human situation."<sup>3</sup>

What, then, should case records contain to enable one to *analyze a human situation*: if a sociologist, to make a contribution to the fund of scientific knowledge upon personality and the group; if a social worker, to undertake a discriminating diagnosis and to plan and to test a promising method of treatment?

Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield, in her book *Case Study Possibilities*, has presented the most penetrating and complete statement of the interdependence between the development of a science of personality in its group relationships and of the progress of the art of social work through the instrumentality of the case records of social agencies. With her theoretical statement I find myself in entire agreement.

Since all of any given person's significant habits form themselves within relationships between him-

<sup>1</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, p. 29.

self and environing persons, institutions, and ideas, his personality is a web-like creation of a self interacting with other selves in a succession of situations. As this idea gains ground we shall talk less of the individual as a solid and self-contained unit, moving and acting in an environment of other solid and self-contained units, all mutually distinct and external. We shall talk more of defining relationships, of motivations among lives that interpenetrate. . . . Personality is developed in the interplay of character forces between himself and others in one and in another of the various groups of people which help to create and enrich his social life, each relationship affording situations that give scope and stimulus to some special aspect of his nature. It is within these various groupings that a man's values in life take shape. The things he prizes, his guiding sentiments of love, of family dignity, of ambition, of religion, of friendship, of citizenship—sentiments which "integrate" his habits and give purpose to his life—are all formed by the joint activity of his mind with other minds, organized into circles that conserve and reinforce those values. . . .

The "social point of view" differs from that of most medical men, psychiatrists included, and from that of most practicing psychologists—those who examine people for their intelligence levels. These specialists from the very nature of their training and their daily work, tend to take an atomic view of the individual, to think of him more as a self-sufficient unit impinged upon by environmental forces than as an integral part of his social setting. This fundamental difference of conception often prevents these members of the more established fields of study from getting as much as they might from social work.<sup>4</sup>

The sociological conception of the person as the individual with status, that is, with a conception of his rôle in group relationships entirely corresponds with Mrs. Sheffield's distinction. The term *individual* is reserved for "that atomic viewpoint" of a self-sufficient unit, namely the biological organism with physical, temperamental, and mental traits reacting to environmental stimuli. The term *person* is introduced for "the organic viewpoint" of the individual as "an integral part of his social setting." And it is with

the person, his group relationships, his memories and his aspirations, his successes and his defeats, his goals and his projects, that sociologists and social workers are alike chiefly concerned.

The external events of the life of a human being are not especially significant for understanding and treating him. Nor is it even his acts but rather his attitudes which precipitate and are the precipitation of his acts which give insight into the moving springs of his behavior. His character, as the summation and coördination of his acts and habits, and his philosophy of life and life organization, which may be regarded as the subjective aspect of his participation in the group life around him, actually affords us knowledge of the dominant integrations of the elements of his personality.

It is language and thought, which social psychologists tell us is sublimated conversation, that enable persons not only to communicate, and so to interpenetrate and share each other's experience but to reflect upon, rationalize, and render consistent the otherwise chaotic expression of our many impulses to action. It is through communication that a person enters into possession of the culture of his society, but his choices are not all made for him by his group; he chooses on the basis of his own past experience, and of those projections into the future out of past and present experience which we call projects, plans, and life ambitions.

Existing case records seldom, or never, picture people, in the language of Octavia Hill, with their "passions, hopes, and history" or their "temptations," or "the little scheme they have made of their lives, or would make if they had encouragement." The characters in case records do not move, and act, and have their being as persons, they are depersonalized, they become Robots, or mere cases undifferen-

<sup>4</sup> Sheffield, *Case-Study Possibilities: A Forecast*, pp. 10-12.

tiated except by the recurring problems they present of poverty, unemployment, drunkenness, feeble-mindedness, desertion, bad housing.

A simple, but perhaps not complete, explanation for this may be offered. The characters in case records do not speak for themselves. They obtain a hearing only in the translation provided by the language of the social worker. Accordingly they appear as indistinct figures with only here and there, and then often by way of direct quotation, a flash of individuality. The first requisite necessary to reveal to social worker and sociologist the person as he really is to himself would be to enter the record in his own language.

To enter the interview in the words of the person signifies a revolutionary change. It is a change from the interview conceived in legal terms to the interview as an opportunity to participate in the life history of the person, in his memories, in his hopes, in his attitudes, in his own plans, in his philosophy of life. Under the legalistic conception of the interview the attention was often focused upon the art of cross examination, upon all the little tricks of technique designed to elicit information which the informant desired to conceal, and upon ingenious methods by which the social worker could impose his will upon an unwilling applicant for assistance. Under the personal, in contrast with the legal, conception of the interview, the social worker aims first of all to put himself so far as possible in the place of the other person, to participate in his experiences, to see life, at least for the moment, as the other person sees it, to enter into his hopes and plans, and to be sympathetic with their realization.

In a recent article in the December *Survey Graphic*, Gordon Hamilton makes an illuminating statement of the phenomenon of "sharing experience."

The most significant thing about any experience is having it, and the next most significant thing is being able to reflect upon it. In an immediate sense the social worker lives his way into his thinking. He does not experiment upon people, but he shares a certain experience with people. The ability of human beings to interpenetrate and yet maintain awareness is the germ of the matter. It is possible not only to have the experience but to think about it: not only to have it but to evaluate it. Natural science does not teach us to prefer one end result to another, but religion, philosophy, aesthetics and perhaps also the social sciences, are inevitably concerned with preferences and values. Here is the point in which social case work is beginning to play a small rôle, but a definite one in helping to comprehend and determine the values in social relationships; and in trying to bring about understanding and self-directing in place of fatalistic and haphazard activity.\*

Certain objections are almost certain to be raised against the verbatim method of the interview. There are those who will contend that the remarks of the client are trivial and not worth recording. Some of his statements may be irrelevant, but in so far as they reveal his attitudes and philosophy of life they are important. The right of every man or woman applying for assistance to present his own story in the record should be recognized.

Some one will raise the question whether the record in the first person will not give subjective rather than objective material. He will point out that the record should contain "the facts and nothing but the facts." But what are the facts for sociology and social work? They are certainly not descriptions of the mere external behavior of applicant and of social worker.<sup>6</sup> They are rather, as we have seen, the life history of the applicant, his scheme of life, and his attitude to the problem in question. If these are entered in his own words rather than in those of the social worker the record becomes

\* "Sharing Experience," *The Survey Graphic*, LIX, (December 1, 1927), p. 317.

<sup>6</sup> See Mary Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, p. 94.



really objective, and open to anyone to interpret. The verbatim record would go far in removing the effects of the "personal equation" of the social worker and the criticism now frequently made of wide differences in the records of different workers in their characterizations of the same persons.

Another objection that is sure to be raised is the alleged increased length of the record under the new plan. In my judgment the narrative in the first person need be no longer than the record in the third person. In both cases, it is necessary to select the material that is relevant and significant.

A final objection to be considered is the question of the adaptability and skill of the social worker in this new form of interviewing and record keeping. My own belief is that for the great majority of social workers the new technique will be easier to master than the old because it is more human and for that reason more interesting.

The record in the first person has only to be tried out to have its values realized. They may be enumerated briefly as follows:

1. The interview is placed upon the democratic and friendly basis of sharing experience, the worker entering into the inner life of the other and at the same time imparting the wisdom that comes from contact with similar experiences.
2. Each new interview becomes for the social worker an opportunity not only to broaden and deepen his own understanding of life, but also to test out his own intuitions and tentative plans of treatment.
3. Since this form of record provides both a personal document and objective data, the worker on the case, the supervisor, the staff in conference, and the sociologist are all free to make their own interpretation without the everlurking suspicion of how far the record has been colored and perhaps distorted by the personal equation of the worker.

4. The materials are now provided for a diagnosis in terms of the total situation, rather than with reference to a series of unrelated individual problems.

5. Finally, a current aim, I take it, of social work is to place treatment upon a frankly empirical, experimental plane, so that both the original diagnosis and the method and technique of treatment may be subject to review in light of the acid test of the outcome. To record in the first person, by preventing futile attempts at treatment, and by suggesting more individualized planning, will make its contribution to this goal.

From widely separated parts of the country, individual cases of verbatim recording have come to my attention. Dr. William Healy very early in his research work became convinced of the value of what he has more recently termed "the boy's own story," or "the girl's own story." The reader of the Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies cannot but be impressed by the flood of light thrown on the process of personal organization and disorganization by the child's story related in his own words.

Dr. E. Van Norman Emery, director and psychiatrist of the Los Angeles Child Guidance Clinic, writes:

It is our practice to record as accurately as is humanly possible the exact questions that the psychiatrist asks and the exact answers given by the patient. The record is written down in long hand by the psychiatrist at the time that the questions are asked and the answers given. We feel that this is a very essential part of the technique, as we have found it impossible to record verbatim answers in any other way. The psychiatrist is not only interested in the patient's ideas, but is interested in the words which the patient selects in his effort to express these ideas. Many times the way in which the idea is expressed is of much greater significance to the psychiatrist than the idea itself.

In another city and in the unique field of an original and courageous study of sex education in the family, Mrs. Robbins Gilman, executive director of the Minne-

apolis Woman's Protective Alliance came to the conclusion after trying different techniques, that the account in the first person gave a realistic picture of the whole situation, not to be obtained by reports in the third person, or by checking a list of items deemed significant for statistical tabulation.

Mr. Clifford R. Shaw, research sociologist at the Institute for Juvenile Research has, so far as I know, more consciously developed the method of first-person reporting and carried it further than anyone else in the country. The case presented by him at the last meeting of the American Sociological Society<sup>7</sup> was a fine illustration of the dramatic value of the father's story, the mother's story, the boy's story, the neighbor's story, and finally, of the family interview for a complete understanding of the total situation.

Under the chairmanship of Helen L. Myrick the subcommittee on Interviews of the Committee on Professional Practice of the Chicago Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, has experimented in the analysis of verbatim interviews. An illustrative interview giving not only conversation but a description of gestures and attitudes was published in *The Family* in the July, 1926, issue.

In the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, Mrs. Harriet Rosenthal Mowrer has been preparing case records on marital discord which contain a section in the first person of the rationalizations of husband and wife.

Miss Florence Nesbitt and the members of her staff at the Lower North District of the United Charities have been experimenting with the record of the interview in the first person, not as a substitute for the conventional record but as an addition

to it. This might be called the record of a crucial interview in the first person. Miss Nesbitt states:

Our case-workers feel that the interview for the first person record helps them very much in following the mental processes of their clients, getting at their attitudes, their underlying motives and reactions. Thinking the interview through before recording it, clears their mind and crystallizes the impression they get of their client's personality. From the standpoint of the case-reader, it seems to me, that it forms a better revelation of the personality than we can get in any other way and gives a more vivid and definite picture of the client. The case-workers also spoke of this, particularly in its aspect of recalling to them, when they re-read their record, the impression they received at the time of the interview.

These experiments suggest that agencies may be disposed to adopt some form or other of the verbatim report. The question will be raised: "Should all the material in the record be in the first person?" Obviously not. There seems to be no reason why formal reports should be entered any differently than at present. But interview material involving attitudes, as those of neighbors, landlord, grocer, school teacher, may well all be recorded in the verbatim form. It is doubtful, however, if any agencies will immediately adopt this maximum program, although I hope someone may have the courage to make the experiment.

At any rate, the practical point remains, for what parts of the record is the verbatim report most valuable? First of all, the *family history* should be recorded independently in the words of the husband and of the wife. Next should be entered the conception that each person has of his *role in the family and in the community* including, whenever pertinent, his philosophy of life, his ambitions, his attitude toward his present problem and his plan for its solution. Often a *family interview* is of value, as stressed by Mr. Shaw, for its revelation of the difference in attitudes,

<sup>7</sup>"Case Study Methods," *Proceedings*, Vol. XXI, (1927), pp. 149-57.

and even conduct, of the individual as a member of a group and as an independent person. Then, too, *the status of the family and its members in the community* should be indicated by excerpts from the statements and descriptions of the attitudes of representative local persons like neighbors, employers, landlords, business men and clergymen.

Both for sociological interpretation and for the demands of the development of the technique of case work, it is important to have entered in the record both a *diagnostic summary* and a statement of the *proposed plan of treatment*. This statement will, no doubt, take account of many factors not included in the verbatim record. It should, however, attempt to make an analysis of the interaction of personalities within the total situation as disclosed by first person reports. Following the statements of the diagnosis and of the proposed plan of treatment should be introduced the *progress of the treatment*, which would give current descriptions of experiments in carrying through and revising the plan of treatment to meet the changing situation. Finally, with the closing of the case, or with a radical change in policy or in the treatment *the case review* would be given which would be an analysis of the background material, the diagnosis, the plan of treatment, and the course of treatment from the standpoint of conclusions to be drawn from this case which might or might not be applicable to cases of a similar kind.

This paper up to this point has undoubtedly overemphasized the value of verbatim material to the exclusion of the mention of other desirable data for case records. And this was deliberately done because of the writer's conviction that this single change would do more to render case records valuable both for sociological interpretation and for the purpose of

social work treatment than any other single proposal or group of proposals. There are, however, certain other types of material valuable for sociological interpretation and equally of interest for social diagnosis and treatment:

1. The family budget sheet has become a standard part of the record. The value of this sheet for scientific and practical purposes would be enhanced if it also included a schedule of expenditures classified by budget items. The comparison of expenditures of individual families in various economic and social classes in society may give the sociologist an index of differences of real significance. At the present time standardized budgets for dependent and for economically independent families have not been checked sufficiently for comparative studies of family expenditure.
2. The records of social agencies now contain on the face sheet the street addresses of the residence of the family, at least during the period of the supervision of the agency. The regular inclusion on the record of a complete account of changes in residence would have real value as a check on the family history and as an index of the mobility of the family and its members.
3. The entering of these addresses will become even more valuable when each address is a clue to the type of neighborhood in which the family or the person has lived. For Chicago, the following general types of urban areas have been worked out which may, with some slight changes, be applied to any large city:
  - (a) the loop, the central business district
  - (b) Hobohemia, the region of the homeless man
  - (c) the rooming house district
  - (d) immigrant area of first settlement
  - (e) immigrant area of second settlement
  - (f) lower middle class American residential neighborhood
  - (g) apartment house area
  - (h) suburban residential district

The point is that the status, economic and social, of the family always has a relationship to the area in which it is resident. The changes of residence often furnish a crude but vivid outline of the vicissitudes of family life, its rise and its decline, its cul-



tural conflicts, its capacity for making adjustment and the prospects for rehabilitation in this or that type of neighborhood.

4. Finally, the concrete and intimate knowledge of the case worker of the neighborhood's social groups and institutions in his district ought in some way to be preserved.

Illuminating sidelights on local conditions are now frequently found in the record. A systematic provision for this descriptive material would be of immediate practical value to the worker on the case, to the staff supervisor, and especially to new workers, as well as of decided interest for sociological interpretation. A beginning in this direction would be to report, and again, so far as possible, in the first person, upon the participation of the family and its members in the groups and institutions of the community.

The trend of the discussion in this paper should not be misunderstood. It is an argument for a method of recording in keeping with the ideal of social treatment which social workers have repeatedly affirmed since the time of Octavia Hill.

The difficulty in the past in the realization of this ideal has been due to the slow development both of the art of social treatment and of a natural science of personality in its group relationships. In social work there is now a marked trend away from the earlier emphasis upon the management and manipulation of a "case" who must be thoroughly investigated, whose every statement must be treated with suspicion, and who must either conform to a standardized plan of treatment or have entered upon the record the final anathema, "Case closed; failed to coöperate."

The newer attitude away from a mechanical routine procedure to an individualized treatment is perhaps somewhat indicated by the change in terminology from "client" to "patient," which is much more than a verbal distinction. It is

evidence, to be sure, of the contribution to social work of psychiatry rather than of sociology. For the psychiatrist and the psychiatric social worker have placed the emphasis upon the emotional and mental life of the individual rather than upon the external fact of his disability or his poverty or his unemployment. The psychiatrist looks upon his emotional conflicts, arising from feelings of guilt, fear, and inferiority, as problems demanding attention. This contribution by psychiatry is of great importance, but many social workers and sociologists feel that although the psychiatric approach leads directly up to the influence of group relationships it does not, and perhaps cannot, make so adequate an analysis of the social life of the person as of his emotional and mental conflicts. Accordingly, it should perhaps be of value to the social worker to have the coöperation of the psychiatrist, with his understanding of *the form* of the emotional disturbance, and of the sociologist, with his interest in *the content* of the mental conflict to be studied in its context in the social situation.

The content of a person's inner mental life is not necessarily revealed immediately in his observable external behavior. The conception which a person has of his rôle in society, his secret ambitions, and his plan of life, can best be ascertained through conversation with him by a sympathetic and understanding auditor. This impulse to communicate one's subjective reaction to experience is a basic one, and its expression seems the most adequate condition for the establishment of rapport between persons.

Since all human beings live more in the colorful life of imagination than in the drab routine of their apparent overt behavior, this penetration into the inner precincts of existence is a requisite not

only for diagnosis but for planning social treatment. It means, in the nature of things, planning with, rather than for, the person or family.

This paper is more concerned with the substance than with the form of the matter. It proposes a method of case recording which gives promise to fulfill both the intuition of the social workers and the findings of the sociologists upon the relation of personality to social life. Its aim would be essentially secured by any plan that would introduce into the records

increasingly vital materials upon personality and human relationships. The advocacy of the verbatim report is grounded upon the conviction that this is the best technique for throwing light upon the person's conception of himself and of his rôle in society, as well as upon his attitudes toward his own personal and social problems; and the plans which appeal to him as promising for their solution. And this, I take it, is the material in which sociologists and social workers have a live joint interest.

## SOME CASE WORK RECORDING LIMITATIONS OF VERBATIM REPORTING

FRANK J. BRUNO

**I**F THE social case records contain the material which Dr. Burgess indicates, his criticism of them is amply justified. After all, however, do not the social case records reflect the kind of social case work which they record?

If an interview is held as Dr. Burgess describes it, a social worker trying to get information from a reluctant client by the tricks and devices of cross examination, the record will reflect little or nothing of the personality of the client. In such a situation a verbatim report of the interview would only show up the barrenness of the case worker's technique and would probably throw no more light upon the client than the brief summary now contained in records.

It seems to me the real contrast which must be made is in the respective methods of reporting a good interview, an interview which both the sociologist and the social worker would agree upon as revealing personality.

I should like to point out at least two

possible limitations upon the effectiveness of the verbatim method as submitted by Dr. Burgess.

In the first place there must be selection. Dr. Burgess implies this in his statement that the verbatim record need be no longer than at present. Selection of the significant statements introduces exactly the element of possible error which their interpretation in a third person recital involves, namely, the recorder is using his judgment with respect to the entire material. He is doing two things with it in both instances, first taking out for preservation that which he considers important, and second arranging it in an order which is intelligible, for obviously even in the verbatim method the order of occurrences in the interview would not be the order followed in any selected group of quotations. We do not object to the introduction of the conversation by the visitor, although I think the sociologists would probably agree with us that the less there is of that the better, that its

inclusion must be obviously necessary to interpret the words or the indirect quotation of the client. Admitting, however, that selection is necessary, most of the value of direct quotation disappears, leaving only the element of apparent vividness and reality which direct quotation carries as against narrative recital.

The second criticism relates specifically to this element of vividness contained by introducing real evidence. It seems to me this falls into two parts: the first relates to the accuracy of the memory of the case worker, and the second to the soundness of his judgment. The first possibility of error, that of memory, can probably be overcome to a certain extent by rigid discipline. All of us, however, have had humiliating experience, in this line, of thinking that we were quoting exactly the word of the client or the word of someone else whose conversation we were attempting to reproduce, and finding either by the testimony of other witnesses or of the speaker himself that we were doing nothing of the sort. Personally I have not found any greater accuracy in my own personal memory in the verbatim method of reporting than in the narrative. As I said in the first place, however, this difficulty may be overcome but I believe the burden of proof rests with the advocates of verbatim method.

The second difficulty, however, is one which verbatim reporting shares with narrative reporting, and any correction of it would apply equally to each method. The case writer using the verbatim method not only must be sure that the important statements are preserved, but also that they are the proper statements and that in the setting in which he places them they mean exactly the same thing as they meant when the client uttered them. This is more important in social case work than it is in social research or sociology. In

the latter usually what one wants is the opinion or attitude of a person upon a specific subject. The possibility of reproducing such a report accurately is of course much greater than of reproducing the significant statements of the client in their proper setting by a social case worker whose objective is to understand a person in all his relationships. In the first place the sociologist defines the area of his inquiry, listens to the person interviewed as long as he wishes to talk, and picks out from what is said the statements which bear upon the defined area of social interest. The social worker goes to an interview whose area is defined by the client, and it is his responsibility first to secure how this problem rests in the mind of the client and then to go back of that to anything in his life which may throw light upon it. The more he defines the area of his inquiry in the beginning, the more likely he is to handicap both the method of inquiry and the freedom of expression of his client. Furthermore even if he has conducted his interview in the most idealistic fashion, he is in no such position as the sociologist with respect to apportioning different evaluations upon the material which he has received. The most unexpected scraps of evidence sometimes prove of major importance. I recall a family that had been in and out of the Court of Domestic Relations for two years, with every sort of care being exercised with respect to the evidence of their basic difficulty and with the best juvenile judge I ever knew watching with his usual sympathy and insight. The clue was found when the supervisor of case work took the voluminous record home with her and spent an entire Sunday reading it. She found in the early days of the contact that the wife had told the visitor that she was in love with her husband's brother before their marriage.



This clue being followed up brought out the fact that she was now living with her husband's brother and each was trying desperately to hide the fact. Verbatim reporting would have had this item in it just as clearly as in the narrative reporting only if the case worker had considered it important at the time. Otherwise in the tremendous size of the record which the inclusion of important as well as unimportant items would involve, she would have had to omit it.

In conclusion may I say that it seems to me the case records would be greatly enriched by the inclusion of much first person material, but that the necessity for including much that is of problematical value forces the case worker to use a method of recording less expensive of space and nearer to the needs of her object. My own feeling is that if the case worker were to study the method of drama, especially of dramatic writing, she would find a tool more adaptable for her purpose than any literary device yet invented. The dramatic form has been hammered out by centuries of experience almost for her use. The dramatist is doing precisely what she is attempting to do. I recognize this is a direct argument for the verbatim reporting as drama literally is that, but in the present day novel, we have a modification

of it which indicates that more elaborate analysis of personality can be made in narrative forms which follow the general laws of the dramatic utions. After all a record is to be read, is to give its reader as accurate a picture as possible of what the original case worker saw and heard. If it is possible to re-arrange all the material in narrative form which contains a definite structure, such as introduction to the persons and the circumstances of the interview, the body of the interview analyzed according to the subjects contained, and the situation at the close of the interview, the reader will get a better picture of what happened than if the original form is more closely followed. It may be poorer material for research purposes; it probably is, but for the purpose for which the case record is prepared, it would seem to me at any rate, that abandonment of that form and an attempt to select verbatim material as its major content would introduce serious dangers of wrong emphasis and capital omissions at least; with the possibility of erroneous quotations that would leave the reader a much poorer picture of what actually happened and who actually was seen than a dramatically organized narrative in which quotation was given minor consideration.

## CAN THE SOCIOLOGIST AND SOCIAL WORKER AGREE ON THE CONTENT OF CASE RECORDS

LINTON B. SWIFT

IN THE first paragraph of his article Professor Burgess answers the question in the title by saying that social case records "should contain what will render them valuable for social case work; that and no more."

At first glance I was inclined to agree with this answer, taking it as the statement of a limitation upon the usefulness of case records for research purposes. The rest of Professor Burgess' paper, however, carries the implication that usefulness for social case work is synonymous with usefulness for sociological interpretation, and in that I cannot entirely agree.

Of course it is true that most thoughtful case workers are dissatisfied with present methods of record keeping for the purposes of social diagnosis and treatment, and it is perhaps also true that any improvement which results in a *more accurate* picture of the client's situation for treatment purposes will incidentally mean an improvement for purposes of sociological interpretation. But the reverse is not necessarily true; an improvement and particularly an addition of material for purposes of sociological interpretation does not necessarily meet the needs of case work.

As used by the case worker, the ultimate purpose of a case record must be treatment based upon the needs of the individual case. It is according to these varying needs that the information and proportionate emphases in the record must be determined, and these emphases are not the same as they would be for research purposes. For instance, in a study of the

causes and effects of divorce, case records designed for research purposes should contain reasonably complete information upon divorce whenever it is found. From the point of view of the case worker, however, in many cases the causes and effects of divorce may have receded so far into the background, or be so overshadowed by more important issues, as to receive comparatively little emphasis in the case record. To change that emphasis in order to increase the research values of the case record might throw out of gear the whole process of diagnosis and of treatment.

Several years ago some of us were much disappointed to find that our case records revealed little of value on the social effects of prohibition. We should not have been disappointed. "Drinking" is not necessarily a major problem in all cases in which it is found. While it is true that had such records been more adequate for their natural purpose they would perhaps have revealed more information, to have padded them with all the information needed by the student of prohibition might often have meant an inversion or even a destruction of case work values.

And so Professor Burgess' answer is too easy, if it means that *all* that case records need contain to make them of value for sociological interpretation is that which is also valuable for social case work purposes. I should rather modify or paraphrase Professor Burgess' statement thus: "Sociological research should expect to find in social case work records only

such material as the case worker has deemed valuable for purposes of treatment, the extent and character of such material varying according to needs in the individual case." Here, however, I accept the possibility that selected records may sometimes be developed to serve both purposes.

These distinctions are perhaps trite, and it may be that Professor Burgess takes them for granted. If so, I can only plead that they are not implicit in his paper. But if they are admitted and kept in mind, we can accept with appreciation many of the suggestions made by him.

Whether or not sociology has contributed much to social work in the past, it should in the future make a growing contribution, of which Professor Burgess' paper is a promise. Case work has in recent years levied tribute upon psychology; we are now entering a similar rapprochement with sociology. Indeed it may be hard to tell where the contribution of psychology ends and that of sociology begins.

Sociology and social work agree in seeing the individual, not as a self-sufficient unit, but as a person with relationships. And in so far as case records can be so modified as to give a truer picture of personality and relationships, they will obviously become more valuable for sociological interpretation.

Professor Burgess' criticism of existing case records unfortunately is too often true. Our records frequently present, not a living "first-hand" picture of the human personality, but a "case" differentiated from others chiefly in the number and variety of problems described. But case workers are well aware of this defect, and Professor Burgess will find in many cities a growing effort to remedy it—including in some instances the method which he advocates, that of recording the interview in the words of the client.

The trouble with this method is that the resultant picture is less accurate and less easy to obtain than appears on the surface. The words, gestures, and attitudes of the person interviewed do not tell the whole story; they may be influenced or caused by the words, gestures and attitudes of the interviewer herself. The interviewer, with her own prejudices, attitudes, and mannerisms, is definitely a part of the picture. If it be granted that all of this should also be recorded, we have several perplexing questions:

- (1) To what extent does the resultant record portray chiefly reactions to these particular stimuli, as distinguished from other or normal reactions?
- (2) As an integral part of a picture which involves her own words and attitudes, can the interviewer render a wholly impartial and disinterested report?
- (3) If to avoid greatly increased length of records we include only selected material as Professor Burgess suggests, does not the record cease to be "verbatim," remaining influenced by the "personal equations" of the case worker in making such selections?

Partly to meet these difficulties, and partly as a matter of convenience, we might have a third person present at the interview as an observer and recorder. This method has of course been tried, and I believe was a feature of the interviews described by Clifford R. Shaw in his paper last year,<sup>1</sup> of which Professor Burgess speaks. But Mr. Shaw's case is to me an excellent illustration of the great dangers of that method, particularly from a case work standpoint.

The "family interview" there described was indeed dynamic, in the great tension evidenced and in the general family row which resulted. But as I listened to the

<sup>1</sup> See Case Study Method, Clifford R. Shaw, *Proc. Am. Soc. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, 1927, pp. 149-157 (Editor).



record I could not but ask myself these questions.

1. To what extent was this evident family tension created or stimulated by the introduction of an artificial element in the situation—the interviewer, and the interviewer's gestures and attitudes, which were an essential but omitted part of the picture?
2. To what extent was the tension aggravated by the presence of still another artificial element—the observer or recorder? Even though this were only a stenographer behind a screen, apparently soon forgotten by the group, her presence may have been a source of tension and irritation all the more potent because unrecognized.
3. Granting the possible value for research purposes of such a partially "created" situation, of what value is this method in case work, where *treatment* and not *study* is the objective, and where a continuance of normal friendly contacts between client and interviewer is essential?

Indeed, in this case of Mr. Shaw's we may have an illustration of the difference—and even conflict—between research and case work purposes in the development of case recording. At any rate, most case workers are convinced that a third-person, stenographic report of an interview is inadvisable save in very rare instances.

All of this does not mean opposition to Professor Burgess' suggestion that case records should contain more of an intimate picture of the client as a person, nor to the use of verbatim reports as one means toward that end. I only want to point out that a mere verbatim report of the client's words is inadequate; that if the case worker is adequately to portray the whole interview including her own part in it, she needs more skill and objectivity than ever before; and that to be accurate such records would necessarily be of such length as to be impracticable for the majority of cases. And, of course, neither would such a record be neces-

sary for many of the thirty to sixty cases carried each month by a case worker.

I am so much interested in an endeavor to secure a picture of the client's situation in his own words that I have several times during the past year suggested another form of experimentation. May we not occasionally find a rare client who is not only coöperative, but is to a degree capable of analyzing objectively his own situation? Could we not ask such a client to sit down and write out his own story of the social and other factors entering into his situation, after we have discussed with him what those factors might be? Off by himself, without the complicating presence of a second or third person, and with the challenge of thinking out for himself the causes of his situation—family background, physical and mental characteristics, the influence of friends, etc.—is it not possible that the impulse toward self-explanation and perhaps even toward literary composition might be aroused with interesting results? The document might not always be truthful; but that is just as true of statements in an interview. And even the lapses from truth should often be revealing. As with the "confessional documents" used by psychologists, the revelations would lie as much between the lines as in the words themselves.

Of course, such a method is by no means new, but I have not seen it consciously developed as part of a case record. The nearest approach I have seen is a life-story written by a French peasant refugee during the war for a Red Cross caseworker, who took this method of obtaining a case history. Written haltingly at first, but gradually achieving the epic simplicity of a Balzac, her story revealed struggle, selfishness and self-sacrifice, duplicity and frankness, in a way which might have

been difficult in an interview. I should like to see experimentation with such self-analysis as part of our case record material.

A part of the difficulty in the interpretation of case records, for research as well as case work purposes, lies in an exclusive use of chronological entries, with a consequent scattering of information and impressions. An effort is being made to correct this through reducing chronological entries to mere notes, bringing all valuable material together in forms which should give a better picture of the total situation.

But even when, as is usually the case, the chronological method is retained, there is general recognition of the value of the diagnostic summary, statement of treatment plan, and review at time of closing of the case or change of plan, as advocated by Professor Burgess. As for the other types of material he mentions, many family societies always accompany the family budget sheet with a schedule similarly itemized of actual expenditures, and a complete face sheet and reference sheet should contain as complete an account as possible of changes in residence. As Professor Burgess says, complete information on these points enhances the value of the record for the purposes of case work as well as of sociological interpretation. I also like his suggestions on the development of clues as to the type of neighborhood, and the preservation of the case workers' knowledge of the

neighborhood's social groups and institutions.

In conclusion, I hope that this whole discussion will be understood as revealing sympathy with Professor Burgess' approach to his subject, and a sincere appreciation of the contribution which he is making to our two fields. I only wish to point out, at the risk of repeating truisms,

1. That the purposes of treatment and of sociological interpretation do not necessarily coincide, and may even be conflicting.
2. That the sociologist should in general expect to find in a case record only such material as the case worker has deemed valuable for purposes of treatment, save where there has been a conscious addition of material for research purposes.
3. The verbatim record of the client's share of an interview does not give the whole picture; the recording by the case worker of *her* share in the interview—her attitudes as well as her words—is a task demanding great skill; and the presence during the interview of a third person as stenographer or "recorder" is in general contrary to case work practice. With these qualifications, I believe that case records can be greatly improved by a wise use of verbatim reports.

And, since I know that Professor Burgess is more interested in the record as a picture than in any one way of getting the picture, I shall greatly appreciate his reaction as to the practicability and the value of an endeavor to obtain the client's own written analysis of his situation, following the procedure I have described. It is, of course, merely another form of verbatim record!

## OBJECTIVITY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN THE CASE RECORD

THOMAS D. ELIOT

PROFESSOR BURGESS has elaborated the principle advocated in his May paper at Des Moines, published in the October issue of *The Family*. In brief, the idea seems to be that the quotation marks in the district office typewriters should have more exercise. It is hoped that by letting each of the *dramatis personae* of the case speak for himself, a "gestalt" of the actual situation, having depth and perspective, may replace what Burrow would call the "bidimensional," more or less unreal, moving picture reflected at a single angle from the screen of the case-hardened social worker's dictation habits.

This idealistic quest of realism is, as Professor Burgess shows, not new, but merely not lived up to. The demand has grown with the growing insight into what the realities underlying personality actually are.

Personality itself is now thought of as a functional unity, like a waterfall or a hive, not an absolute entity. So far as we can experience it (which is as far as we can name it) it seems social and . . . relational in its nature. If a personality is but the resultant of a web of relationships between the various sources and flows of energy focussed in a human organization, then any type-group of personalities, dubbed by whatever descriptive term, must represent, not alien monads, but a class of social situations. And the very classification is subjective in us, not an inherent quality in any "individual soul."

Delinquency is not something inherent. Whatever there is there that is inherent, it is not the delinquency. "Delinquency" implies a social situation and a social judgment. It is a behavior condition, a conduct situation; as such it implies and is a state of relationship, and not a trait. It is a social constellation, arising out of the conduct of an individual in relation with his fellows and other factors

of the environment. "A case of delinquency" is, therefore, not the body of the "delinquent" which symbolizes it, but is the social situation or set of relationships organically related through this personal focus. Quite true, such an individual has absorbed and even identified himself with much of his social milieu. It is part of his personality and it acts through his behavior as a focus or cutting edge. That the delinquency plexus has become internal to the personality or organized into the psychic organism, does not make it any the less a social situation, as well as a biological unit. In a sense nothing is 'environment' in an observably effective sense until it is in some fashion introjected by the plexus of interplaying energies we [recognize as the] personality. . . .

The implications of the foregoing, if accepted, markedly convert in certain respects the approach of social and medical work in these problems.

The forces of the organism include here (as in insanity and dependency) the environmental experience of the individual, organically absorbed into and working through him . . . . Inadequacy is again a social judgment. . . .

Science, apostle of objectivity, calls for sympathy as its instrument of precision, just as religion, the traditional sanction of sympathy, must call for objectivity in order to bear all things, endure all things and think no evil.

The social worker and the penologist of the future must operate with what Eastman calls 'the ruthless love of the surgeon.' We shall, if need be, amputate whole portions of the plexus of delinquency which we call a "case." Whether we do so by partly or altogether removing the body or a part of it, or by removing parts of the environment which have formed portions of this personality and of others, must depend upon the diagnosis and prognosis. And the diagnosis no longer stops with the body but diagnoses the total situation. The defect, in say, John Skrygorak may be a faulty play-ground system. Provide it, gear it into his personality—and the delinquency becomes [functional] "normality."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See A Limbo for Cruel Words, *The Survey*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 10, June 15, 1922, pp. 389 ff.



Long before the statements quoted, Mead had written the following passage, in which the importance of interstimulation and response within a primary group is clearly implied:

A social act [is] one in which one individual serves in his action as a stimulus to a response from another individual. The adaptation of these individuals to each other implies that their conduct calls out appropriate and valuable responses from each other. Such adjustment on the part of each form to the action of the other naturally leads to the direction of the action of the one by the earliest phases of the conduct of the other. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, I find nothing new in the so-called "gestalt" idea as applied to groups.

Interdependence in a functional unity has been, indeed, the basis of all the organismic and transcendental theories of group life and mind. Here we recognize, underneath the differences in theoretical verbiage, very similar conceptions. But the popularization of the idea will no doubt induce us to interpret our case-relations in terms of it.

Our objective would seem to be, then, to invent a form of case-recording which would afford the most limpid medium through which to observe or manipulate most effectively the group-personal situations involved. To show a way of realizing this objective may be helpful, if we examine at the same time some social-psychological difficulties which are involved.

Quotation marks alone will not improve a record. The reader may get a greater sense of reality when Bronner quotes a girl as saying "I went to the Charles River to commit suicide a lot of times, but I didn't have the courage";<sup>3</sup> but except for

this somewhat unreliable feeling there is no difference in accuracy or fullness between this statement and a statement that "The client said she had gone to the Charles River to commit suicide several times, but didn't have the courage." One must train and trust a recorder to remember passages supposedly most symptomatic of attitudes relevant to the situation or its solution, and this introduces another chance for bias: in the training of the recorder, in the recorder herself, or in both.

A second difficulty in the way of the so-called "verbatim" case-report is, of course, its length, involving time, energy and money. I can recall when, in dictating case records, I was under the conflicting pressures of thoroughness on the one hand and economy and case-load on the other. Yet that was for research purposes, not for a treatment agency. Personal and family schedules such as the Bureau of Social Hygiene and the American Home Economics Association have prepared can provide wonderful material much needed for research; but, for both diplomatic and financial reasons, no charities and corrections could afford to attempt them.

It is again claimed that the omission of irrelevant matter will leave the "verbatim" record no bulkier than the old. But this merely creates a dilemma. For, as pointed out, if the verbatim report is to be selective, and the material perhaps classified under the traditional headings (or under any other set of preconceived or standardized captions, even sociological), the element of personal equation or stereotyped bias is reintroduced in a new, more subtle though perhaps less obfuscating form. From selection of quotations for the sake of the tableau it is only a step to such journalistic exploitation as Judge Lindsey's.

It would be nice for everybody (except

<sup>2</sup> "Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meaning," by George W. Mead, *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. VII, No. 12, December 15, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*, Series I, Case 9, p. 18.

possibly the clients) to have elaborated records for all our cases, if that were possible. Perhaps the most practical plan, that actually being carried out through such agencies as The Behavior Research Fund, The Wieboldt Foundation, The Russell Sage Foundation, The Judge Baker Foundation, The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, The Trownstine Foundation, is to employ additional trained interviewers or other necessary assistance, to work up an appropriate sampling of cases for any particular research project, elaborating the interviews and records *ad hoc*.

At present, probably the phase of any case most interesting to the sociologist is its constellation at the time of its first contact with so-called "social agencies." An equally elaborate analysis of a ten-year-long case would be valuable to the agency, for appraisal of treatment processes; but social theory is more anxious to get at the personal processes as nearly as possible as they have been going on without the intervention and sophistication of social work processes.

The scientist is, of course, interested in tracing causes and effects, or at least correlations and sequences. The social worker is also interested in causes, but only in so far as they are removable. If a cause is irrevocable so far as the particular case is concerned, it loses interest for the case-worker, while it is just as interesting as ever to the sociologist.

After all, there is a fundamental difference between agencies which study and agencies which treat. One of the two gods, Science or Welfare, must subserve the other. For a treatment agency with limited resources and unlimited needs to use funds to record facts beyond the needs of treatment or prevention is apt to be considered misuse of funds.

In the agencies where out of research

flows some cure, or out of cures flow truths, the results are highly valuable; but one is always found incidental, the other dominant, one a means, the other the objective. Those interested in each phase will try to impose additional increments thereof upon the other; but sooner or later the decision must be made and the line drawn. Beyond that point, additional fact-finding or additional treatment must look to other and independent resources.

In reading a set of "typical" cases selected for me by the leading case work agencies of Chicago, I was renewedly impressed by the difference between living a case-relationship and imagining it. Indeed, one could not even imagine it from the case record, if one had not at some time personally observed presumably similar conditions and people; but even personal observation is not participation. I doubt if students who have not themselves been through similar miseries, or at least through some kind of social work, can get from a case record an image of the situation which has even the verisimilitude of a flat picture. In the absence of field trips, they often get more from drama and fiction where the persons walk and talk and adjust in a vivid milieu. This vividness without its exaggerations and distortions is, I take it, the value that Professor Burgess wants to conserve in the records of actual life stories.

By contrast, the old-fashioned case-record has all the juice squeezed out, and is displayed, like a botanical specimen, from which even a soaking cannot revive a semblance of the original in its ecological setting. Occasionally *The Survey* or *The Family* publishes a vivid but doubtless accurate thumb-nail sketch of a case, such as Mrs. Wembridge does so well, but it is fair to assume that they were not drawn from case records. Healy's

cases are far more vivid than the usual run, yet twice I have placed them in the hands of fiction writers without a flash of response. If case workers themselves can only get reminders and hints from a folder, what can one expect of the mere researcher, the pure sociologist? The oldfashioned record dissects a living social situation, leaves out essential parts, and expects the worker or student to reembody it by a sort of sympathetic magic.

The fundamental question underlying these contrasts is a difficulty which recurs in many forms, in the contrasting phrases of psychology and philosophy and ethics:

Can one be simultaneously scientific and sympathetic? Can one simultaneously experience and reflect? Can one both introject and project the same experience? Can one preserve objectivity in a subjective experience? Can one appreciate experience both immediately or currently as an end in itself, and at the same time immediately and ultimately as a means to an end? Can one at the same time interpenetrate in a group relationship and yet maintain separate awareness? Can one have both truth and cure, in medicine or social work?

Any status which requires both requires of the person a divided self; but the resulting state of mind, if effective, is, perhaps, of the nature of an alternating current, and is inherently unstable though very useful. It may be that the "pure sociologists" who can boast a reputation of indifference to reform and cure, and conceive their rôle as merely observers, are themselves slipping occasionally into the rôle participant,—though they may step back later and view their own subjective experiences objectively. One's vivid experience as a social worker is then merely observed as a Gestalt by the sociologist.

Will merely wishing to have one's cake and eat it too, i.e., merely conceiving oneself as simultaneously in the contrasting rôles of observer and participant, enable one actually to function in the double rôle and be that sort of person? Incidentally this is a test, not only of the Inquiry's periphrase, "participant observer" but of the so-called sociological definition of the person.

May it not prove profitable to both treatment and research for the social worker to step into the rôle of the sociologist when she records a case? As she dictates, she must objectify one whole situation, including concrete behavior and conversation, as objective evidence of the subjective attitudes of the client's group and of the worker, and of the clients toward the worker.

In this respect, the oldfashioned record, giving naïvely the subjective attitudes of the worker, is itself a type of evidence of an element in the situation deliberately slighted in the so-called psychiatric-social record. As Miss Maguire has suggested, much of the old fashioned record consisted of alibis for the worker; and many of the subjective attitudes expressed might be analyzed as defence mechanisms.

In another respect, the so-called psychiatric record, in so far as it omits such subjective adjectives as imply blame or praise, permits a more real sympathy on the part of the reader. The verbatim report and client's own narrative permit still more subjective interpretation by the researcher, who can then again step aside and observe more accurately because of his previous subjective sharing. They permit it, but they do not insure it. If the attitude of the researcher be not itself previously sophisticated beyond good and evil, the verbatim account may merely stimulate in him subjective personal atti-



tudes and judgments of praise and blame—such as the untrained social worker used to record.

Objectivity and subjectivity in case records are thus seen to be reciprocally fertile to each other if their alternating nature is recognized. They may not bring us *absolute* relativity of judgment (only the Recording Angel has that); but in alternating combinations they offer at least *relative* relativity of approach.

As long ago as 1912, perhaps earlier, Dr. Healy recognized the importance of the individual delinquent's conception of his rôle: he called it "the boy's own story," and gave it an important place in the case-study. Healy's case-studies are said to be very useful in the training of case-workers, and of course go far beyond the average records in detail and accuracy and objectivity. They have also proved very useful for purposes of socioanalysis by students in social theory courses. Yet those so far published still show the influence of the medical and treatment approach: There is not the thorough shift of focus to the family and the group-life that is now expected. It is still the individual delinquent, even though more broadly conceived than by our laws and courts.

Healy occasionally permitted a boy to write down his own idea of his behavior. This doubtless has an integrative or setting effect upon the experiences or attitudes interpreted, i.e., upon the rôle as conceived, whether desired or undesired. It may be that a type of stenographer-interviewer may be developed, to whom some clients, at least, may be allowed to dictate their own story. Neither of these devices, however, is likely to represent the same sort of vivid multipersonal group picture as is suggested by Clifford Shaw's studies. Still another version of the principle would be the record based upon

a series of separate interviews, each to be reported in the words of the interviewee. The sociologist must not forget, however, in his zeal for the facts, that the ethics of social case work and the requirements of treatment may forbid the completion of his puzzle-picture, if it involves interviews with present neighbors, or the use of a concealed stenographer.

It is at this point that one should reiterate that, whereas the sociologist keeps himself out of the picture as much as possible, to see what would happen if he weren't there, the case-worker has to get into the game herself. She cannot treat without entering her own rôle into the drama. The recent technique of the psychiatric social workers is a cross between these two which may be open to criticism. The worker's personality, though inevitably a factor in the treatment, is supposed to be suppressed in the interest of objectivity. The worker is apparently prescribed like physic, and is expected to act as a catalytic is supposed to, namely, to precipitate a solution without entering into any real combination with the preëxisting elements of the equation. Breaking such rules a worker may thus tend to become unprofessional or, holding to them, may feel or behave somewhat less than human. A similar drawback exists in the so-called objective or "psychiatric" case recording. A mere description of external behavior of client and worker may be objective, but it is not apt to be sufficiently complete and detailed to give insight for either analysis or treatment.

If the case-worker does not enter into the case, she is merely a case-observer. If she does enter into it, so as to change the alignment of forces and attitudes, she should, to be sure, control the situation in such a way as to be able to withdraw from it without its collapsing. But

she, and therefore her attitudes, overt or covert, are going to be important elements in the total situation. Is the reader of the case going to have a fully objective account of the situation if the worker's own judgments and attitudes, as expressed or suppressed, are censored from the account of the case during her contacts, on the ground, forsooth, that they are subjective, and that all subjective material must be avoided? If the clients' and neighbors' attitudes are to be given expression verbatim first person, is not it at least as important that free speech be given the worker, in order that a successor, supervisor or researcher may fairly appraise the total situation?

Personnel work aims to substitute personal touch for mechanical hiring and firing. It should be the equivalent of social case work for normal people in industry and education. It is a quaint quirk of etymology that personnel records are apt to be anything but personal in the sense contemplated in our discussion. They are doubtless better than what went before, but they too often lack not only depth of insight but also case-history background and foresight. They are not even a moving picture of the personal drama. They are a mere cross section. Two nearly identical records might call up two very different personalities, for the genetic and latent differences are often ignored.

The gist of it all is, the fuller the record is of both objective and subjective material, objectively reported, the more useful it will be to both practical workers and to analytic students. The important thing is that subjective material should not be recorded *as if* it were objective, but should be recorded as objectively as anything else.

It may be that in social diagnosis we shall go through some such stages as are recognized in the history of psychiatry. The first great advance over ignorance, fear, stupidity and superstition was in the discrimination and classification of types with which Kraepelin's name is associated. In social work the familiar types of broken homes, and of defective, dependent, and delinquent groups were distinguished among what theretofore had been a mere welter of misery. A later stage in both fields has been a recognition of the dynamics or time dimension of the problem, the analysis of causes, and the individualization of treatment. It is possible that further study of the etiology of social demoralization based upon adequate recording and interpretation of cases may prepare us for a significant reclassification of types of cases based on combinations of causes, relations or processes. Such records as Professor Burgess has discussed doubtless begin to make this possible.

## SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE INTERVIEW: AN EXPERIMENT

STUART A. QUEEN

**N**OTORIOUS is the fact and trite the saying that social work and sociology have long gone their separate ways. It is not our task here to bewail or explain either the mutual recriminations or the indifference of social theorists and practitioners. Instead we shall emphasize the gradual convergence of the two groups upon a common interest in research; not, however, by enumerating points of contact nor by exhortation, but by describing a single coöperative venture which seems to promise gain for both social science and social practice

The coöperating groups in this instance are the Kansas City Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers and the Sociology Department of the University of Kansas, functioning through one member of the latter and the Case Processes Committee of the former. The joint study began in the fall of 1926 and will, we hope, continue for a period of several years.

The general field of study is: the interview as a type of social interaction. The specific problem is: precisely what happens in an interview between a social worker and his client. (We would like to see similar studies of interviews between salesmen and customers, clergymen and parishioners, employers and employees, and various other combinations of persons.)

This divides naturally into a number of sub-problems such as: What part of the give-and-take is verbal? What part of it is non-verbal, i.e., tone of voice, facial expression, gesture, posture? What is the relation of the verbal and non-verbal parts

of the interaction? For example, to what extent is a statement of either person conditioned by the words of the other and to what extent by his other acts? How do these persons express various meanings verbally and otherwise? How do they interpret each other's expressions, especially when these are not put into words? In general, what correlations are there between the interview regarded as a succession of physical stimuli and responses and the interview regarded as a succession of feelings, ideas, objectives and inferences? Another group of problems involves the ways in which the nature of the interview as a whole is affected by: who takes the initiative, his general objective or purpose, the immediate setting, previous contacts or absence of the same, background of relevant experience, types of personalities represented by the parties to the interview.

But we did not start off with any clear-cut formulation of our problems. We began with the assumption that we could learn something from each other and that we could devise a project in which we could work together to our mutual advantage. The committee on case-work processes had been in existence for over a year. It had consisted of a rather large group of case workers from various agencies, each of whom had presented a paper covering three points: the function of his particular organization, his own position in that organization, and something of his personal technic. At the beginning of the next year the size of the group was reduced to a half dozen persons who were both willing and able to devote considerable



time to the committee's work. Instead of dealing with case-work processes in general, these folks deemed it wise to concentrate on some one phase of case work and they chose the interview for special study. At this point the academic member joined the group. He was attracted not merely by the hope of contributing something toward a better case-work technic, but especially by the prospect of studying intensively social interaction in one of its simplest forms.

Before plunging into the actual recording and analysis of interviews, in order that we might all speak the same language, and that we might define our project more clearly, we spent some time reading and discussing certain published materials. On the general subject of social interaction we reviewed Park and Burgess' chapters on contacts and interaction together with some of Mead's articles on the conversation of gestures. On the interview as seen by social workers we examined a number of articles by Miss Myrick, Mrs. Sheffield, Miss Libbey, Miss Clow and

teacher with a delinquent girl. One of the first errors in which we caught ourselves was a failure to distinguish clearly between overt activity and inferences. For instance, in the column allotted to "physical action" we placed such notes as these: "not bold nor embarrassed, nor nervous—simply sustained interest—nice smile"; "polite, courteous tone"; "expression showed interest and strain but no guilt"; "new attitude of interest"; "ever confident tone"; etc. Now it presently became clear to us that each of these items represented an inference on the part of the social worker, and that each inference must have been drawn from some expression or action of the client which should be capable of objective statement. It being evident that what we remembered from interviews was largely our own inferences, the problem became one of observing and recording overt behavior.

In wrestling with this problem we expanded our list of categories and recorded our interviews in six columns instead of three. (See table below.)

FORM FOR RECORDING INTERVIEW

PHYSICAL ACTS (CONVERSATION OF GESTURES)		MENTAL ACTS		
Non-verbal (movement, tone, attitude)		Thought processes		
Interviewer	Client	Immediate objectives	Inferences	Other conscious thinking

others. Following this we proceeded to record and analyze a few interviews using three categories: dialog, physical action, and thought processes.

The first interviews were long and, strange though it may seem, so interesting that we were in constant danger of forgetting technic and analysis in our attention to the story itself. The very first record we discussed was a twelve-page account of an interview of a visiting

The dialog was the most accurate record possible from memory of what was actually said by the two parties to the interview. Immediate objectives included such items as these: "to watch expressions without attracting attention"; "to allay suspicion"; "stalling for time"; "to overcome fear and word charity in mother's mind"; "shifting of attention from client's condition to that of her children"; "to avoid shock if physician

under discussion could not attend patient"; "to keep client from evading point which visitor intended to discuss"; "to avoid appearance of preaching." Some of the inferences recorded were these: "client is disappointed"; "client is telling only part of the truth"; "client is trying to rationalize his behavior"; "is hard to convince that he is ever wrong"; "she wants advice although she has not asked for it"; "she is trying to protect son even at cost of his own good"; "the interview has reached a crisis"; "client has won a battle with herself—she has granted a point on intelligent reasoning and not on emotion." "Other conscious thinking" was frankly a miscellaneous column. In it we placed such entries as these: "is client going to relapse into the stubborn person she is capable of?" "Is she exaggerating?" "Would a perfectly innocent girl be so glib?" "Remembering strained relations between girl and her father"; "Ignoring untruth"; "This setting is not good; it smacks of authority"; "Italians respect a clever mind." Perhaps the "other conscious thinking" could be restated as "unanswered questions and asides." However, it might be said that these "asides" are really inferences; they differ from the inferences previously listed in that they refer to the general situation rather than to the client's immediate reactions or state of mind.

But by far the most difficult task at this stage of our work was to agree upon a uniform set of terms that would describe objectively the non-verbal parts of the interview which we referred to as the "conversation of gestures." After much discussion we adopted the following list as a guide, but with the clear understanding that we were not yet ready to commit ourselves without reservation to any set of terms.

## CONVERSATION OF GESTURES

*Voice*

pitch	} inflection, modification, change of pitch, speed and volume
speed	
volume	
staccato	
legato	

*Facial expression*

smile or laugh  
frown—wrinkled forehead  
tenseness

*eyes:*

direction of glance  
shifting, steady or staring  
contracted or dilated  
raised or lowered brows  
bright or dull  
color—flushed or pale  
nose  
setting teeth  
biting lip

*Bodily attitudes*

Tense or relaxed  
upright, leaning or stooped  
steady, trembling or fidgeting  
breathing—speed and depth  
heart beat—speed  
perspiration

*Pantomimic gestures*

shrugging shoulders  
stamping foot  
pounding  
pointing  
patting on back  
caressing  
walking back and forth

*Words*

suggestion—direct or indirect  
question  
statement of fact  
command

At this stage of the game we began to be worried by the many things to keep in mind. So, to guard against demanding the impossible of ourselves, we decided to record only brief interviews or simply parts of interviews. Hence some of our recent records cover only a couple of pages.

There was never much doubt that the dialog was recorded almost verbatim. Also, once the dialog was down in black and white, it seemed relatively easy to give an account of what went on in the interviewer's mind—providing the legitimacy of introspection is admitted. But the mental processes of the client had to be omitted, except as they were inferred by the social worker. In just one instance was the interviewee asked to supply this information. He coöperated well and we have an interesting record, but the circumstances were so unusual that the case is not presented here.

It required considerable effort to note and remember just what the client did, rather than the impressions he left on us. To note and remember our own overt acts was most difficult of all. As a result there is usually more information about what the client did than about the action of the social worker. In only one of the recorded interviews is the opposite true. In a very few instances there has been a third person present who has helped to make the record more complete. But in general this has not seemed practicable.

Someone has suggested that, if we would make our accounts comprehensive, we must find some means of discovering and recording internal, i.e., bio-chemical, changes in the parties to the interview! The omission of these is inevitable, so far as we can see. But we doubt if the lack is as serious as some might imagine, for it is after all the overt acts which constitute the stimuli in the interaction. Changes in the viscera become socially significant only when they produce some outward expression.

Some of our friendly critics have been inclined to feel that all this is much ado about nothing—after all the summarizing of an interview is all we need, or at the most the conversation is sufficient; of

course you have to be tactful and ladylike, but everybody knows that, so why write it down. In order to see how adequate the dialog alone may be we have had presented to the group several records of this sort without any reference to non-verbal action or setting. In spite of the fact that these were presented by the persons who conducted the interviews, and were therefore well known to the rest, we found it quite impossible to supply the missing details. Following is the first bit of dialog so presented and discussed.

Good Morning, Mrs. R. I am the visiting teacher from the school. Ruth told you I was coming?

Yes, she told me the other day.

I really owe you an apology because I did a very foolish thing, when I told Ruth definitely I would be here the next day. I should know by this time that Fate's always playing me some sort of trick.

Won't you sit down here?

Ruth probably has told you that we are a little anxious because she seemed so nervous. She cries easily.

Oh, Ruth's always cried that way since she was a baby. Her feelings get hurt easy.

Miss E. talked to me about her and told me she and the Vice-principal both thought it might be possible some teacher was putting too much pressure on about her work. Do you know whether she is afraid of any teacher?

Oh, I am sure that isn't it. She got lost in the building the first few days and she said it just seemed that every time she got to a door somebody shut it.

That probably accounts for the fact she came to Miss E.'s room when she was supposed to be in her classes. Another thing, she tells Miss E. nearly every day she doesn't feel well.

Well, she's had trouble with constipation all her life, and lots of stomach trouble. Her father's always had the same thing and he is home, sick, now.



Of course this is only part of the conversation, but see how barren it is for the person who has no other information about the situation. Nothing here indicates, for example, that Mrs. H. is a fine-looking woman of thirty-five years although the mother of eight children, that she is eager to maintain a good "front," that the arrival of the visiting teacher has put her on the defensive. Neither does it appear from the dialog that the visiting teacher is greatly surprised at the clean and orderly appearance of the home, the vigor of the mother and her social aspirations. This family of ten is living in a cheap, four-room cottage in the outskirts of the city. Next door is a house just like it, except that there dirt and confusion reign. The visiting teacher has just come from this other house and is so taken unawares that she opens her conversation very differently from the way she had expected. The proud manner of the mother, the presence of the sick father, the frightened mien of the children and the contents of the tiny house made the visitor almost apologetic in her approach. The first reaction of the committee to the presentation of this bit of dialog was that we could make little out of it until we had not only the non-verbal part of the interview, but also the background, immediate setting and major objective.

Another example may make clearer the limitations of the dialog and the necessity of adding to it data concerning other phases of the interview. In the record on pages 550-552, I shall read first the dialog, then the entire account of the interview proper, and then give the setting. This will be a little awkward, but it is the way in which the committee undertook to estimate what is contributed to the final result by the conversation, physical action and setting, respectively.

This episode took place in a neighborhood house where a "well children's conference" was being conducted. The assembly hall was filled with mothers waiting to pass to the room in which babies' weights were taken and recorded. A small corridor connected the two rooms. About the middle of the forenoon one of the nurses tried to pass through the corridor when she came upon the scene of a nervous, irritable mother leaning over a four-year-old girl who was lying on the floor, kicking and screaming. The mother was threatening to spank the child if she did not get up. The child still had on heavy wraps and a fluffy blue silk cap tied with ribbons under the chin. Other mothers were trying to pass through the corridor; they showed plainly their annoyance and impatience at being detained by such a performance.

Later in the morning the child threw another tantrum when her shoes were being unlaced, and when she was weighed. The physician's comment was that there were enough physical symptoms present in the nose and throat to account for the behavior problems. The mother's answer was, "Oh, yes! That's what our family physician told me, but I wanted to see what you would say."

From one interview we have negative results, which, though not conclusive, are suggestive. A visiting teacher came into the central office to report an unsatisfactory interview and to ask the reason for her failure. She was asked to write out a record in the form used by the committee and present it for study by the group. It seems that in her car she was driving at night in an outlying part of the city seeking the home of a girl whose school attendance had been very irregular. Quite unexpectedly she met the girl's mother and brother on a dark street,

PHYSICAL ACTS (CONVERSATION OF GESTURES)			MENTAL ACTS		
Non-verbal		Verbal (Dialog)	Thought processes of visitor		
Visitor	Client		Inference	Objective	Other conscious thinking
Looks at mother with wide-eyed surprise; kneels beside child, hands on knee. Speaks in moderate tone, sympathetically as possible. Does not touch child, motions with right hand to mother to make way in the corridor. Arising, both stand against corridor wall, both still looking at child on the floor.	Very excited, talking loudly, stooping, trying to lift child from floor, kicking, screaming, throwing arms aimlessly.  Stands looks at child.	What, Oh what, Mother is the trouble with this little lady?	A very poor Mother	Locate the trouble with the mother	What a shame for other mothers to have to witness and endure such a scene.
Trying to help mothers pass the child. Leans toward child to keep her from being stepped on.	As mother talks child changes to a sitting position, screams cease, but crying continues, eyes downcast, will not look at anyone. Mother shakes head, helpless manner, points to crying child as she looks at nurse with pleading eyes and tone.	I just can't do a thing with her. Get up, Irene. Will she have to be undressed, nurse, to be weighed and measured? Can I see the Doctor without doing all this?	Mother wants advice for this problem child.		
Looks at child trying to catch her looking up. Is attracted by mother's intent look and smiles at mother.	Mother looks at nurse very intently. Reply after a bit of hesitation.	Is this your first visit to the Station?  No, I was here once about six months ago.	Mother ashamed to confess lack of interest.		How can I make an impression for a reaction on part of both mother and child?

No, I was here once about six months ago.	Mother ashamed to confess lack of interest.	To quiet child so she may be reasoned with.	Why have a fluffy cap on a child of this age?
Looks directly at mother, waves hand toward child, nods to another mother in the corridor, shakes head for mother not to try to handle the child.	Mother starts as though to help the child again but pauses when she sees nurse shake head.	This time she needs to take off wraps and shoes only, for she will soon be old enough to go to school, will she not?	
Smiles at mother and points to child to call attention that she is not crying. Standing still by the corridor wall.	Slight pause, shrugs shoulders and shakes head, looks at child, Child stops crying.	She is four and a half years old, but, Oh dear, I can never get her weighed for she is so bad. I just can't do anything with her. She has had running ears all summer.	Mother wants to give excuse for child's behavior.
Aside in a low tone to mother as nurse pats mother on the shoulder to express sympathy and almost whispers in her ear.	Mother relaxes, child listens trying to hear what nurse says, looks at mother very shyly.	Of course, you cannot manage her if you continually make remarks like this before her. I understand she does not feel well. Naturally she would be irritable.	
Smiles and nods approval and pats hands to encourage the mother and child.	Speaks in lower tone, turning to child, extends hand to child as she asks question.	Well, I'll try to get her weighed. Irene, will you let Mother take off your cap and coat and let the nurse weigh you?	Mother's manner rather helpless and resigned; feels nurse understands physical ailment some cause for behavior.



PHYSICAL ACTS (CONVERSATION OF GESTURES)			MENTAL ACTS		
Non-verbal			Thought processes of visitor		
Visitor	Client	Verbal (Dialog)	Inference	Objective	Other conscious thinking
Stoops to try to look into the child's eyes. Makes tone low, persuasive and expressive as possible to interest child, points with right hand to the measuring rod in the other room against the wall.	Child assumes listening attitude. Drops hands to sides. Mother stands by with extended hands, leans over child but looks at nurse. Child does not look up.	Irene, if you want to be like a school girl, and see how tall you are, all you have to do is take off your shoes and stand over there against that measuring rod.	No use to pay attention to child now. Lack of attention to Mother and child may bring better reaction.	Trying to appeal to child's ego and get child to act for herself without Mother's help.	
Stands erect, walks away, says nothing to mother or child, too busy.	Mother reaches as though to touch child. Mother stands erect, does nothing, says nothing, child waves arms, screams as talks and prepares for another tantrum	No! No! No! I won't, I won't!			

where they talked for several minutes. At no time was it possible for the visiting teacher to see clearly the woman's facial expression, posture or gestures. Throughout the interview the social worker was at a loss to know what the woman's reactions really were. It seemed to the committee that her sense of being baffled was due to inadequacy of words and tone of voice to reveal what she must know in order to deal effectively with the situation.

The next record will be presented in the natural order. First is the statement of the background, immediate occasion and setting. Then follows a detailed account of the major portion of the interview itself. This particular record does not include a postscript, which we frequently add, and in which are put later developments and changed interpretations.

Mrs. A is old and pathetic. Of her family only a son and grandson are left. The son is of low-grade mentality, but not insane, and has been alcoholic for years. Mrs. A has suffered abuse beyond description at his hands, but bore with him patiently until it finally became necessary to send him to the State Hospital as a violent alcoholic. At first she was shamed and grieved to the point of being irrational. As time went on she became more reasonable and finally quite happy to know that Frank was receiving good care. He is a cleaner and presser by trade and was put in the shop at the hospital. He wrote his mother of this, also of the cheerful, clean, wholesome atmosphere. Last week Mrs. A recognized the fact that she had reconciled herself to his absence and expressed the hope that he might remain always. The doctors had been most considerate in their communications to her. Almost immediately following her visit to the office in which she expressed greater happiness than she had known for years, she received a letter from the hospital superintendent telling her that Frank is to be paroled and that the Family Welfare Society had been notified and she must cooperate in helping Frank make his adjustment. A copy of this letter was enclosed in one sent to the Family Welfare Society.

Yesterday Mrs. A came to the office. She has been giving practical care to a very ill client of the Family Welfare Society and has grown very fond of her

patient, whom she thought was improving. Mrs. A was visibly nervous and upset. She began to cry and told of the patient's weakened condition and suffering. Sympathy was expressed and the discussion kept on the patient long enough to let her get control of herself. She also told of feeling ill and discouraged. She then introduced the topic that, no doubt, was foremost in her thoughts—(see tabulation on pages 554-557).

The question which remains is this: What progress, if any, have we made toward the solution of our original problems? Obviously our task is very far from finished; but we do believe that we have demonstrated the importance of non-verbal parts of the interview. The precise rôles of various gestures, etc., are not yet clear to us, but we do have some clues. In case after case an excited client has become quiet in response to the social worker's slow, even, moderately pitched tone of voice. It appears that a relaxed bodily attitude contributes to the same result. In one interview, where the case worker's problem was to overcome evasion and bring the client to "face himself," part of the technic consisted in looking directly, though without tension, into the client's eyes.

In numerous instances the case worker is convinced that his inferences have been drawn from the client's physical action rather than from his words. For example, in an interview having to do with vocational guidance, the bright eyes, persistent grin, rather tense bodily attitude and rapid speech of the client made the social worker believe that the boy had come for confirmation and approval rather than for suggestion and advice. In other instances it is apparent that the social worker's previous knowledge of the client is more significant than anything revealed either by word or gesture. Thus in the case of a woman who believed herself to be very ill, although her physical condition was

PHYSICAL ACTS (CONVERSATION OF GESTURES)			MENTAL ACTS		
Non-verbal			Thought processes of visitor		
Visitor	Client	Verbal (Dialog)	Inference	Objective	Other conscious thinking
Sitting upright in chair "poker" face, ordinary conversational tone calm and deliberate.	Direct gaze, tears in eyes Quick, sharp and al- most shrill voice.	Mrs. A—"Did you hear about Frank?"  V—"Yes, Mrs. A, I had a letter from Dr. Parker."	Mrs. A's tone and use of words implies she does not regard this as a happy event.	Avoid confusion of thought. Make Mrs. A accept as a fact and not an emotional dis- turbance.	Tact and kindness are going to be necessary because Mrs. A is usually hard to deal with on this subject. Must not forget to be on guard and remember always that Mrs. A is both a sensitive person and a "savage" one when under stress (she had recently demon- strated this)
	Calm, low voice, slow and hesitant.	Mrs. A—"He will be home in a few days. Dr. Parker told me he wrote you."	Mrs. A evidently has not resented content of doctor's letter. She wants advice, although she has not asked for it.		
Smile, leaning slightly forward. Smile van- ishes and slight frown takes its place. Very slow voice in clear, audi- ble tone.	Sits quietly. Tears still in eyes. Grows more tense in position.	V—"I'm glad you have come this morning be- cause I've wanted to talk to you ever since Dr. Parker's letter came. I answered it and ac'd him to keep Frank until you and I could talk things over. He told me that he felt sure Frank was cured		Assure Mrs. A of thoughtful interest, and encourage her by building a hopeful plan.	



Still leaning slightly forward. Smile, calm, slow but audible tone.		of alcoholism, but that he could make no guarantee about whether he would return to the old habit. Now, I've thought and thought about it and I've decided that we will have to make a definite plan to help him. One of the things I thought of is to get him a job so he will lose no time at all when he comes."	Mrs. A— "Oh, but he can always get work. Why, there have been several men calling for him lately."	Mrs. A— "Yes, I'm sure he can get work, but don't you think if we had a job promised by some employer who understands, it would help keep Frank away from the places where he could get liquor?"	Mrs. A— "But, I couldn't stand for anybody to know that he's been in the asylum."	Mrs. A is going to relapse into the stubborn person she is capable of being, without reason or intelligence?
	Leans forward as she begins to speak, then sits very stiff and erect.			Mrs. A is trying to protect Frank even at cost of his own good.		
	Tears spring anew. Leans forward suddenly, speaks loudly and emphatically.					

PHYSICAL ACTS (CONVERSATION OF GESTURES)			MENTAL ACTS		
Visitor	Non-verbal		Thought processes of visitor		
	Client	Verbal (Dialog)	Inference	Objective	Other conscious thinking
Calm, quiet position of comfort in chair. Hand out on desk, palm upward and open. Smile slowly comes over face. Picks up pencil and asks question in direct tone.	Tears leave eyes and perspiration forms below them. Sits quietly and seems to show some muscular relaxation.	V—"We'll explain, Mrs. A, that he has been in the hospital and has overcome his habit and I'm sure if we are talking to the right man he will be glad to do anything he can to encourage Frank. Who are some of his former employers?" Mrs. A—"Oh, I forget, but I have some cards at home."	Mrs. A is not convinced until she starts to answer and then she unconsciously decides to follow suggestion.	Ease Mrs. A's mind. Calm her. Make her feel sympathy. Assume that she will respond and do away with any thought of argument.	Win Mrs. A completely if possible.
	Quick, low speech followed by louder and firmer tone.	V—"Do you know any of them yourself? Would he be able to get drunk from them?" Mrs. A—"I knew one place where he was paid in liquor but I think the others are all right."		Don't intimate to Mrs. A that she has done anything unusual in responding without argument.	
	Relaxed body and face muscles, calm. De-liberate ordinary conversational tone.	V—"Don't you think it would be best to talk to his employer and be honest about things so he can help?"		Mrs. A is interested in plan and is relieved. She has ceased to be emotional and is more rational than usual in crisis.	
Ordinary conversational tone.	Direct, louder, tone, nod of head, smile, hand out on desk again with palm open and up.				

Direct gaze, tone emphatic but not harsh	Clear voice, more emphasis of tone.	Mrs. A—"Yes, I guess it would. Frank has always been so ashamed when he had to go to Leeds or General Hospital and never wanted his boss to know it but I would ask him if he wasn't more ashamed of getting drunk."	Mrs. A has won a battle with herself. She has granted a point on intelligent reasoning and not on emotion. She is taking V into her confidence.	Don't give Mrs. A a chance to change her mind.
	Nod of head. Tone clear and full dropping into a low, "pleading." When she leans over with new tears welling up in her eyes. Clasps hands together in supplication and rests them on desk while waiting answer.	V—"Will you bring the cards over to Mrs. Wilson's tomorrow so we can get them, and call at the different places. I told Dr. Parker we would take care of it this week."	Mrs. A is eager to help carry out plan but is suddenly confronted again by fear of Frank's displeasure.	
Open smile both with face muscles and eyes. Gentle voice but clear and loud enough to leave no possibility of misunderstanding.	Assumes natural erect position and smiles gently.	Mrs. A—"Yes, or I'll bring them here. But you promise don't you that you will say "hospital" and not "Insane asylum?"	Perfect understanding has been reached and now ready for next topic.	



not serious, the patient's "drawn" expression, nervous rubbing of bed covers flushing face and tears made very little difference in the procedure of the social worker who was seeking to reassure her. We have also come to the conclusion that the rôle of many acts is quite insignificant, that is, that the other person pays very little attention to them and that the interview would have about the same result if they had not occurred. We have in mind especially those acts which are often characterized as "mannerisms," such as toying with pencil, tapping on table with fingers, resting chin on hand. In other words, we have about decided that no verbal or non-verbal act by itself has a great deal of significance. But the

combination of circumstances and acts is that which yields meaning.

What is the effect of this analysis on the members of the committee? Does it make them so self-conscious as to be hindered in the conduct of interviews? There is unanimous belief that this is not true. Rather do they feel that it has made them more alert to anticipate possible responses of their clients and to interpret responses which actually appear. While no objective tests are available, it is likely that they are better case workers than before they undertook this project. At all events the enthusiasm with which they have devoted time and thought to the venture have made this a happy experience for all concerned.

## SOME DIFFICULTIES IN ANALYZING SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE INTERVIEW

VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON

PROFESSOR QUEEN's committee has performed a real service in isolating for study a case work process and analyzing the sub-problems involved therein. The recognition of three aspects of the interview: conversation of gestures, dialogue, and thought process; the emphasis on the importance of conversation of gestures; the careful objective analysis of the factors in the conversation of gestures clear the ground of much confusion in a discussion of the interview and offer a good starting point for further analysis.

If I may do so without belittling the work of this committee I should like to point out another approach to this problem which seems to me more fruitful. It grows directly out of some questioning of the assumptions of this committee,

particularly the question which Professor Queen raises in the conclusion of the paper as to whether the factors the committee has tried to isolate and describe are really the fundamental adequate stimuli in the interviews. He points out on the one hand that in many cases "the gesture" has been more important than the spoken words but on the other hand grants that "the rôle of many acts is quite insignificant that is, that the other person pays very little attention to them and that the interview would have about the same result if they had not occurred. In other words, we have about decided that no verbal or nonverbal act by itself has a great deal of significance. But the combination of circumstances and acts is that which yields meaning."

The truth of this conclusion is indeed

borne out by the analysis of the interesting interview with Mrs. A. in regard to the parole of her alcoholic son from the State Hospital, a successful interview in which Mrs. A. is brought to accept the parole of her son and to coöperate with the visitor in finding work for him. In going carefully over the analysis of this interview I am struck by the little that is added by the verbal acts and thought processes to the clear convincing record of the dialogue. Certainly the worker's physical acts as described are not the determining factors in changing Mrs. A.'s attitudes—"Sitting upright in chair, "poker" face—ordinary conversational tone, calm and deliberate, hand out on desk, palm upward and open." There is no evidence of definite correlation between these acts and Mrs. A.'s attitudes nor can we doubt that quite different physical behavior would have accomplished the same results.

I think we must always remain in this dilemma, if we go at the problem of social interaction primarily from the point of view of the overt behavior and I should want to include here dialogue as well as physical acts. The difficulties of this approach become most apparent to me when I think of it from the point of view of trying to teach the student the technique of interviewing.

Any new carefully selected recruit coming into a School or Agency to get preparation for social case work brings with her a certain amount of free objective interest in the job she is about to do, in people and social situations. Her interest in how to do it is a secondary thing but is developed steadily under good supervision. Last of all comes her interest in herself as a factor in accomplishing change, usually developing very late and frequently not at all in her student days. If you will, let us picture a student sent

out to interview Mrs. A. whose alcoholic son is about to be returned from the hospital, realizing of course that this is too difficult a task for a student. How could the supervisor prepare the student to handle this interview effectively? The supervisor from her intimate knowledge of Mrs. A. can guess that she will project her fear of losing the new security she has now won in her son's absence, apprehension for their social prestige in having people know that he son has been to an insane hospital, mingled with the old maternal need to protect her son against all attack and a possible compensatory reaction of anger and bitterness against the hospital for discharging him. Violent, confused emotions which if not properly released and understood may turn the whole situation upside down for the son's arrival. How prepare a student or a worker for conducting this interview?

Never, it seems to me, by concentrating on the detail of overt expression either in physical acts or spoken words. The only adequate, and indeed the only possible preparation for such an interview, is first, as full and complete an understanding of Mrs. A.'s feelings as possible, and second, an equally complete understanding of the attitudes of people and other factors involved, of the son, the hospital, of possible employers, of neighbors. The supervisor would build up for the student or worker a full picture of Mrs. A. as a person, her background, her difficulties with her son, and of the son himself in his relation to her. If the student finds Mrs. A. and her reactions foreign and strange and cannot feel with her in her present situation after this teaching, that student is foredoomed to failure in the interview. The only method I know for teacher or supervisor to get past this kind of blocking in a student is by presenting more and more material from the individ-

ual's past or present situation until the student finds some fragment of experience like her own with which she can identify. With this as a basis she may then be eager and able to feel herself inside the other person's experience. A supervisor of one of my students recently, in preparing a student for an interview with an inarticulate downcast deserted mother, asked the student, "Don't you wonder what Mrs. B. thinks about when the children are gone to school and she sweeps the house so persistently?" An effort to stimulate the student to a keen enough interest in Mrs. B's shut-in feelings to penetrate the defense of silence she had erected. No more definite preparation for the interview could be made since Mrs. B.'s feelings, attitudes, and interests were unknown.

In the interview with Mrs. A. where so much is known of her in advance, only the worker who understands and feels with her through the whole gamut of her emotional attitude, is a safe person to interview her in this present situation where increased fear and resistance may so easily be set up; and only if the worker goes further and can feel the import of all factors in the situation for the son can she project the son's situation in such a way that Mrs. A. will build up an attitude to which he can safely return. In such an interview the greatest spontaneity of response is essential to meet Mrs. A.'s rapidly changing emotions which cannot be predicted or prepared for completely except by the understanding that is ready to follow any change. To reverse this process and prepare for such an interview with emphasis on the external behavior factors as in the analysis submitted by Professor Queen's committee would have the effect of confusing the student utterly. Such an analysis may be very interesting after the interview but even so it ignores

the more essential stimuli, and before the interview it would seem to be only confusing and inhibiting. Dialogue may be safely discussed with a student in preparation for the interview but physical behavior is too inseparable a part of her personality to be lightly touched upon. Take the whole matter of speech as an illustration, perhaps the most important factor in social response. Sapir in an analysis of speech as a personality trait describes five levels on which speech must be studied,—voice, the dynamics of voice exemplified by intonation, rhythm, continuity and speed, pronunciation, vocabulary and style. All of these are of great importance in the total effect produced by the individual's speech but some of the factors at any rate are almost as deeply engrained in the individual as color of eyes or hair, manner of walk, of carriage, etc. Attempt to call attention to them directly may upset completely the individual's poise and balance in a social situation. A student with a harsh voice quality is quite definitely handicapped in expressing certain emotions and attitudes but if she really has within herself consideration for the patient the expression of this will be obvious in so many ways that the lack of voice quality will be compensated for.

Perhaps there is a parallel in the field of the drama. An actor prepares himself to play a certain rôle first, by getting a conception of the part, by identifying himself with the character in its make-up and feelings, then he devotes himself to learning the lines and to portraying in his manner of reciting the lines and in acting the character's emotions and attitudes as the actor feels them in himself. Here he may give all the attention in the world to detail of speech, mannerism, physical expression because he has taken on a new personality and is working consciously to



express this personality. But in the case work relationship the worker's goal is not to be a definite personality projecting its own emotion, but to be free from self consciousness and free from need in order to respond sensitively to the changing emotional need of the patient. The movement in an interview is in flow of feeling and emotion, registered, of course, by all sorts of overt behavior changes but so subtly recorded that we have little skill to read them consciously aright. On the other hand we respond to them intuitively by that process of feeling with the other person in the total identification with his feeling state. We *sense* or intuitively perceive the attitude by the complex combination of overt signs and respond to that total attitude.

Support for this approach which I have presented may be found in Edward Kempf's theory of the Autonomic Functions

and Personality<sup>1</sup> where it is maintained that postural tonus varies immediately as affective disposition varies and that control of these changes is therefore largely under involuntary autonomic activity. So also other factors which operate as the adequate stimuli in social response, such as speech quality, are in part under autonomic rather than voluntary control. The total expression can only be modified by change in the affective disposition which controls the expression.

In conclusion, then, it seems to be far safer to put our emphasis in case work on a deeper understanding of affective changes in individuals and in a freer capacity to identify with a wider range of experience rather than to cultivate further at this point the barren field of technique by which these changes are expressed.

<sup>1</sup> Kempf, Edward J. *The Autonomic Functions and the Personality*.

## THE NON-VERBAL ELEMENTS IN THE INTERVIEW

HELEN L. MYRICK

WHAT can the social worker get from and contribute to such a piece of research as Professor Queen's is the question which occurs to me after careful perusal of his unique study. The social worker as a practitioner naturally thinks in terms of the application of ideas to her daily case work. One immediate application was made by the American Association of Social Workers, Chicago chapter, committee on interviews at its first meeting this year. Professor Queen's method of recording the gestures, tone of voice, facial expressions, the committee felt threw a greater emphasis on the important factor of the non-verbal elements in interviewing which

we had considered but had not developed so consciously.

By means of studying behavior patterns and the effects of the interplay between personalities during conversation it is possible to evaluate and develop the art of interviewing. It was this purpose which has motivated the Chicago committee of twenty-five social workers for three years. The ultimate objective was to develop and test a practical method of recording key interviews in a case in such a way that the psychological factors would be apparent. The uses of records prepared in such a way are numerous, "an indication of technique for evaluation of work and for a guide to subsequent

workers on the case, the elimination from the record of material irrelevant to constructive case work, a development of flexibility and imagination, and the providing of a basis for training students and supervising workers."<sup>1</sup> The use of material for research thus uniformly arranged would appear to be possible, particularly in the field of sociology, possibly in the field of psychology and mental hygiene, certainly in the field of social case work itself. At the present time there is not sufficient material prepared in this way to attempt any correlations or comparative studies.

In comparing Professor Queen's method of approach to the study of interviewing with that of our committee there is then the basic question of objective, Professor Queen's being to study and correlate psychological and physical reactions in themselves, the Chicago committee's being to devise a practical method of recording these cause and effect reactions. From Professor Queen's statements he apparently used for his bibliographic material sociologic and philosophic concepts. In looking over the readings of our committee one sees that we have selected some sociology and philosophy but chiefly psychology and articles relating to social case work.

Our method of presenting original data also differs both in form and in development. Professor Queen has emphasized the dialogue, the gestures and the worker's stream of unspoken thought. We have stressed the essential psychological developments in the conversation; the manner of both participants, but not the gestures and facial expressions; especially the worker's analysis of the development of the interview; the mode of establishing

rapport; the processes used in effecting changes in attitude and manner; the various means of motivation, such as use of incentives; and the apparent effect of the interview upon the interviewer and the interviewee, as well as upon the social situation.

The form of the interview in both cases has been the dialogue. In developing the objective of practical use of its study, our committee in the second year evolved a narrative style of presentation, in which all essential factors relating to the development of the interview have been preserved with the use of significant quotations when possible. This narrative is objectively expressed and includes statements of the manner of the participants. At the end of this narrative we have placed the worker's analysis of the processes as she saw them. In this analysis she makes an actual definition of processes in psychological terms. This definition the group realizes needs much more study and application of the various schools of psychology. At present we are endeavoring to study psychological processes used in dealing with family interrelationships. Eventually we hope to have enough material to make comparative studies from both sociologic and psychologic angles.

The following interview illustrates the type of recording and analysis which has been described.

#### STATEMENT OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION<sup>2</sup>

Jack, a boy of eighteen, is a third year student at high school. He was referred to the Student's Advisory Counsel for study because of nervousness and self consciousness. The boy lives alone with his father, his mother having died when he was ten years of age. The only other child, a girl of eleven, lives with an aunt in Milwaukee. The father is

<sup>1</sup> Myrick, Helen L., "Psychological Processes in Interviewing," *The Family*, March, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Interview by Marion McBee, psychiatric social worker, Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene.

fifty years of age and is employed in the engineering department of a large railroad company. The father was born in Michigan and attended grammar school there. Several years after finishing grammar school he took high school work and entered a state university, studying engineering. He had to give this up and go to work, however. Some time after his marriage he started a medical course in college but gave it up as he found that he could not support his family and continue his studies. He has continued to read scientific articles and books on this subject and maintains that medicine is his main interest. He had hoped that Jack would become a physician but since his school work has been poor, he has given up this hope. The reports on the personality sheets which were sent to Jack's teachers showed that he was considered quiet, sensitive, lacking in self control. His interests were in athletics and sports. He has some recreation with his father, going on boat trips with him and taking other outings. The psychiatrist saw the student and found no evidence of specific emotional disturbance but noted that the boy lacked the qualities which his father most desired. A physical examination was recommended.

The father had been interviewed just before the summer vacation and had refused to give his consent to the physical examination saying that he did not believe that it would indicate anything. The former worker having left the city, the present worker visited the father's office when school opened in the fall for the purpose of discussing with him plans for the boy, hoping to be able to explain some of the boys behavior to him and to gain his consent for the physical examination.

#### INTERVIEW

The father's office was visited. It is a large office, having a waiting room which is not partitioned off from the rest of the office, but which is quiet and free from interruptions.

*Physical setting.* Conversation which takes place there cannot be heard by other persons in the office.

*Manner of interviewer.* The office boy was given worker's name, asking that it be given to Mr. S., that she wished to see him. Mr. S. came out and worker introduced herself, shaking hands with him. Interviewer talked slowly, in a low, even voice, waiting until interviewee had finished speaking before expressing herself. An explanation of the change in workers was given.

*Rapport.* Interviewer said that she was interested in hearing of Jack and of interviewee's plans for him.

*Release of interviewee's emotion.* Interviewee began to talk quickly in a high pitched voice saying that he was through with Jack and had given up trying

to make anything of him. He said that the boy had his mother's disposition and traits of deceitfulness, slyness and dishonesty. He cited instances of Jack's taking food, especially candy and sweets from the home and of being very greedy about such sweets. He also said that the boy was untidy about his personal habits and appearance. In general, he has shown his unwillingness to assume any responsibility and has spent his time in playing. Interviewee spoke of his efforts to conduct himself so that he would be an example for a growing boy but felt that Jack had not responded to this example in any way.

*Presentation of plan by interviewee.* Interviewee said that his mother was coming to live with him in a few months and at this time he was going to give Jack the sum of \$8 which he had earned and given interviewee to keep and turn him out of the house. He intended to cease taking responsibility for him as he was old enough to assume responsibility for himself, and that he had done nothing that interviewee had hoped he would. He felt that the boy would never amount to anything and it was too great an imposition on interviewee's mother to ask her to look after the house when Jack was such an untidy boy.

*Presentation of plan of musing present situation.* Interviewee told of a change in his behavior toward Jack, stating that for the past three weeks he had said nothing to him about what he did, but allowed him to come and go as he wished. He had noted an improvement in Jack since that time, in that he has kept more regular hours and has been neater about his personal habits. At this point interviewer asked if he were given praise for this improvement and interviewee replied that he had not, but that he felt that Jack responded to praise and that he should use this means of encouraging him more.

Interviewee resumed the discussion of Jack and said that he felt that the boy had too much unsupervised time on his hands. Interviewer suggested that a part time job which would keep him occupied after school would alleviate this situation. Interviewee agreed that this might be a good plan and it was suggested that Jack come in to see the Vocational Advisor at the school who has a list of available positions.

*Turning point.* Interviewee then asked interviewer what she thought of Jack and his behavior. At this point, interviewee changed somewhat in his manner. He talked less rapidly in a lower voice and appeared to speak with greater deliberation.

*Motivation.* Interviewer said that the opinion of persons interested in the study of behavior was that all behavior was a response to a stimulus and that although in some cases the cause was difficult or im-



possible to find or remove, in many instances changing the attitude toward the person might change his responding behavior. She also spoke of the influence of the physical condition on behavior and said that the psychiatrist had recommended that Jack have a physical examination, adding that in view of his craving for sweets this was all the more important at this time. Interviewee asked for definite examples of physical conditions which influenced behavior and interviewer cited a case of a child who had been stealing and using the money to buy candy, who was found on examination to be suffering from a glandular disfunctioning which increased the metabolic rate and when his diet was corrected and glandular therapy administered, ceased his stealing. Interviewee asked if interviewer could give him some scientific articles on this subject to read. She promised to do this and asked that he postpone making a decision about Jack's physical examination until after he had read these articles. An appointment was made to bring interviewee this literature. Interviewee again stated his interest in medicine and his attempt to keep up on the latest developments in the field. Interviewer said that she knew he was interested and would want his son to have the benefit of the latest scientific knowledge and study. Interviewee reiterated that he was always interested in science and would be glad to read whatever interviewer had on the subject.

#### DISCUSSION

This interview had been planned by the worker for the purpose of gaining the interviewee's consent to a physical examination of his son. Allowing the interviewee to talk without interruption served the double purpose of giving interviewer a chance to observe his emotional reaction to the situation and of providing interviewee an opportunity to release his emotions through verbalization. During the first part of the interview, interviewee was concerned with a defense of his own behavior and a desire to clear himself of responsibility for Jack's behavior. The interviewer's acceptance of his statements lessened his defensiveness and made the establishment of rapport possible.

Interviewer, in making suggestions regarding future plans, utilized the statement that interviewee had made regarding Jack's unoccupied time. This flattered his ego by making him feel that his opinion was substantiated by the interviewer. It was at this point that the interviewer felt that rapport had been established. The incentive to which the interviewer appealed was interviewee's professed interest in science and especially in medicine. Interviewee

having voluntarily spoken of this interest could not have refused interviewer's request that he read some material on the physical factors influencing behavior and remain consistent with his statements regarding himself.

No attempt was made at this interview to extract interviewee's consent to the physical examination. The interviewer felt that he would resent being pressed on the subject at this time, but that if he were given new information on the subject, in the form of scientific material, he would acquiesce later. By citing a case where a physical examination had been effective in clearing up the behavior problems in another boy, interviewer made interviewee see his own situation more objectively. This also made him feel less responsible for the behavior which he considered so undesirable in Jack, thus lessening his emotional tension regarding the situation so that he could discuss it without defensiveness.

No overt discussion of the interviewee's plan occurred, but interviewer, in making suggestions which were based on interviewee's statements regarding the situation, assumed that Jack would continue to live at home. These suggestions were accepted by the interviewee without discussion. The final plan, that interviewee was to read material given him by the interviewer, was an outgrowth of the previous part of the interview and was mutually agreed upon. The impression of the interviewer on leaving was that by giving interviewee a more objective point of view about Jack and by having him feel that she wished to work with him, a more constructive basis for future work had been laid.

This interview portrays a father's attitude toward his son and his greatest intellectual interest, to which the worker appealed as an incentive as a means of changing his attitude and methods to one of greater understanding and tolerance. The worker's analysis of the father's reactions and her methods with him throw a light on the interplay of the two personalities. It is in this definitive type of analysis that our opportunity for research in social work technique rests. Although this type of analysis is necessarily subjective and hypothetical, it is of scientific value. Also the emphasis placed by Professor Queen on the physical expression of reactions in the interview is illustrated here very clearly.

## SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS ON THE PART OF THE INTERVIEWER AND ITS DANGERS

G. ELEANOR KIMBLE

**D**O YOU all remember the verse about the happy, efficient little insect who was going about his business of walking along the leaf rapidly and skilfully, quite unmindful of his hundred legs until some analytical observer asked him which leg followed which, and he then became so selfconscious and confused that it was impossible for him to walk at all? Perhaps there are case workers who can note which thing follows which quite accurately, but aren't they in danger, if not of stopping walking, at least of forgetting in what direction they were headed or what their goal is or why they want to get there?

We can study the mode of walking which a centipede employs by photographing him in action with a motion picture machine and then showing it with the action slowed down on the screen. But a case work interview is a more complicated thing. Dictaphones were spoken of yesterday. Perhaps some day we shall conceal a dictaphone and a camera in the wall while a case worker talks with her client. Then we could get the physical action, the conversation of gestures, and the dialog including tone and expression, but how could we include the mental acts?

I remember one rather successful interview that an experienced worker had with a foreign-born citizen who came to the office in such an antagonistic frame of mind that he was almost violent. After a half hour he left feeling, as he said, for the first time since his arrival in America twenty years before that he was a part of it and promising the most complete cooperation in regard to the relative in

whom the agency was interested, and asking if he could be of assistance in other cases where his countrypeople were involved. After he left a student who had been at a desk in the corner all the time and who was so interested she had forgotten she should have left the room, but who had been so quiet neither worker nor client had noticed she was there, spoke up. "That was wonderful. How did you do it?" Now she had heard every word and seen every gesture, but they had not shown her what had really happened. As a matter of fact the worker had said very few words, but yet she was more than a passive listener. In fact she was tired out. She had put the best of herself into every minute of that half hour. There was something there as there must be in all good interviews that is difficult to define.

I do not believe the case worker herself benefits by thinking to herself, now I am thinking this or inferring that, any more than she does by thinking, now I will smile or now I will pat the head of the child. This may seem an unfair assumption, for in the experiment Professor Queen has described the interviews were picked to pieces after they occurred, of course, but isn't the worker who very often does that in danger of thinking consciously of her processes as she goes along in a way that may overshadow ever so slightly the real purpose of the interview?

As I understand it this way of studying the social interaction in the interview was undertaken by case workers of considerable successful experience, which is fortunate. I should not like to see students in training or new workers spending much time

in noting just what gestures they used, although I can see how they might indirectly be helped by reading well-written detailed reports of just exactly what happened in an interview someone else conducted.

The baby in learning to walk may benefit unconsciously by seeing other persons walk and if he wants to get to something on the other side of the room he will learn eventually how to get there by walking, but to be told to notice how one foot should follow another will only confuse him. Perhaps after he is a good sized child he may be taught to walk more correctly by noting just how he does walk, and yet I remember a physical education teacher whose students walked beautifully who always said, "Pay no attention to your feet or your shoulders, throw out your chest, head in the direction you want to go, and go there."

Last spring at the California State Conference of Social Work a speakers' clinic was conducted with social workers as victims who made speeches which were then criticised as to form of presentation. The professor of public speaking who gave the final criticism agreed with the audience that the most effective speaker was not the glib talker whose voice was carefully, a bit too carefully, modulated or the person who threw his weight from one foot to the other at the beginning of each new paragraph or made the exactly appropriate gesture, but the speaker who had a topic about which he was well-informed, who was himself convinced of the value of the thing he was presenting, and who had his mind the whole time on getting that thing over to his audience so they would see it also. Tone, position, and gesture were never for a moment consciously in the mind of that person and furthermore after the talk was over that speaker could not have told anyone just when he had

changed his voice or raised his hand or stepped forward.

Now, of course, interviewing is different from walking and from public speaking, but it is different not only in being more complex, but in more important ways. In the interview between case worker and client we are dealing not only with the interplay of two personalities as in an ordinary conversation, but we are dealing with a human being in difficulty of some sort and with another human being who wishes to help in the solution of the problem. Perhaps careful analyses of many interviews may help to store away the details of experience into some sort of subconscious store house from which the appropriate detail will automatically pop out at the right moment, but I believe the worker with broad knowledge, a sympathetic understanding of human beings, and an intense desire to be of help will be the only one to secure successful interviews.

Someone has said this comes perilously near saying social workers are born, not made. Well I am not afraid of old fashioned ideas just because they are old. There is a certain amount of truth in that idea of which we should not lose sight. As a teacher of case work, of course I believe in training and that a person can not have too much of the right sort, but I do believe there are people whom no amount of training can make into real case workers. They can learn any sort of words or gestures, they can bring good intellects to bear upon the problems involved, but they cannot get results because they lack that something that is essential to real interviewing. I am not afraid of words any more than I am of old ideas. Call it something emotional or psychological or spiritual or even psychic if you wish. I think Miss Robinson has put it better when she speaks of



the worker *feeling with* the client. The worker must understand and she must care about getting the difficulties removed, not just because she wants to have a big proportion of successful cases, but because she can not stand to see a fellow creature in distress without working heart and soul to relieve that distress. I am not advocating sentimentality but a genuine interest in the affairs of other folks.

My advanced students have written interviews quite fully in a way similar to that Miss Myrick has described and these have been criticised by the class, but it has not seemed to assist those students who never get good interviews. The thing they lack does not become apparent so readily. I have said this cannot be taught, but certain workers who at first

lack it do attain it sometimes after they themselves have experienced a great joy or a great sorrow. Professor Groves in speaking of one unsuccessful social worker pointed this out I think. Only those who experience life themselves and feel the experiences of others can be of help.

This system of analysis which Professor Queen has presented does not reveal the intangible but most essential part of the interview. From what I have heard of the Chicago and Minneapolis attempts I do not believe they reach it either. It will be interesting to see if they can isolate it and examine it. If they can help us to find a better way of conducting interviews or give us new methods of teaching the art of interviewing we shall all be grateful, for social interaction in the interview is the center of all case work.

## IS EXPERIMENTATION IN CASE WORK PROCESSES DESIRABLE

E. H. SUTHERLAND

THE discussion of Professor Queen's paper thus far has been concentrated largely on the argument that the study of techniques in the way indicated might be dangerous to students in training for social work because it would make them self-conscious. The centipede that did not know which leg to move first has been cited as proof. I do not understand that this study is presented as an argument for the modification of the curriculum of the training school. It might be found useful for the purpose of training or it might be barren. All those who participated in the investigation expressed the opinion that it had been definitely useful to them. Some others

have expressed here an a priori conviction that it would be dangerous. This difference of opinions might be reduced by an objective determination of the actual effects produced by the use of such techniques, though it is extremely difficult and perhaps impossible to measure such things accurately. At any rate the case of the centipede does not prove the point, for the schools of social work are not trying to train centipedes, but persons who are in various ways different from centipedes.

Aside from that, this argument, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would mean the abolition of study of any technique. We would be compelled to go back to the old idea that some people have

personalities that enable them to be good social workers, and that those of us who do not have such personalities can do nothing about it. The whole policy of training for social work is in conflict with this idea, for it is based on the hypothesis that it is possible by analyzing techniques to assist those who do not know how to do social work effectively to acquire a technique by which they can do social work effectively. This is, also, the hypothesis of schools which are attempting to train lawyers, preachers, teachers, journalists, actors, or musicians.

This study may be another illustration of Professor Burgess' thesis that sociologists gain much from, but contribute little to social workers. For this joint effort of a sociologist and a group of social workers has produced a contribution which will be welcomed by sociologists. Since the time of Simmel communication by non-verbal gestures has been a problem for sociologists, and it has been analyzed in general terms by such writers as Mead, Park and Burgess, and Faris. Its significance has been recognized, also, by the general public. For instance, some fraternities, realizing that a bad impression is made by a limp "fishy" hand-shake, train their pledges in the technique of shaking hands. But there has been almost no specific and concrete study of these non-verbal gestures.

This report is of interest to sociologists in two respects: First, it has emphasized the non-verbal gestures more than any previous study and has more successfully abstracted them from the rest of the interaction and from the situation so that their significance can be appreciated. Second, it is a completely descriptive account from which interpretations, appraisals, and classifications have been eliminated as completely as possible. The problem is, not to explain these episodes as such, but

to describe them in ways which would result in the detection of general elements, processes, or mechanisms, that could then be abstracted from particular situations for generalized study.

Two questions may be raised by sociologists in regard to the technique used in this investigation: First, is the description of non-verbal gestures adequate? It is clearly impractical to include a description of every gesture of every observable part of the organism for each moment of the interview. One of the previous speakers has indicated that in the third case, which was reported, surprisingly little was added to an understanding of the interaction by the inclusion of the non-verbal gestures. This may, conceivably, mean either that the inclusion of the non-verbal gestures was unnecessary, or else that the description of the non-verbal gestures was so incomplete that it added little to an understanding of the interaction. My guess is that the latter explanation is the correct one.

Second, does it conform to the requirements of scientific method? Is it possible to abstract a brief incident or episode from the rest of the lives of the participants and describe it so that it will yield significant results. Two methods of sociological study are becoming clearly differentiated in recent years. One is the method of reducing any specific social phenomenon to terms of biology, geography, or psychology; the other is the method of describing what is going on within the social processes and thus getting a statement of social phenomena in terms of other social phenomena. I understand this study to be based on the latter method, and to be a strictly cultural analysis of what is going on.

But even if one grants the desirability of using the method of cultural analysis, the question remains, can an episode be understood as an episode, or an interview as an

interview, apart from the previous and prospective culture and behavior? It seems to be evident that non-verbal gestures are learned almost, if not quite, as completely as are verbal gestures, and that their interpretation by others is acquired in exactly the same way. We heard in one of the addresses last night that the infant at three months of age reacts the same to an angry tone as to a kind tone; the meaning of the angry tone has not yet been learned. A social worker goes into a group with a different culture such as Sicilians, and at first finds herself unable to interpret the behavior of her clients because of their different gestures. But she learns that a certain gesture of a Sicilian does not mean the same thing that a similar gesture by a Chinese or Swedish client does. The meaning of the gesture is thus a matter of culture and needs to be studied just as any other part of the culture. Consequently the description of the

non-verbal gestures in such a study as this needs to be made with reference to the general surrounding culture of the participants and can be understood only in that way.

This study, however, is not so much an effort to understand particular incidents or episodes as to isolate by intensive consideration of such incidents or episodes things that may be subjected to later generalized analysis. It is not possible to deal scientifically with the whole life process at one time. There is definite scientific justification for attempting to analyze and describe what goes on in a specific social interaction and, later, if it seems desirable, to search for explanations of generalized patterns of behavior that are discovered in the particular situation. The particular incident reveals patterns that may be abstracted from that particular situation for generalized study in many situations.

## SOME SOCIOLOGICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR TREATING FAMILY DISCORD BY SOCIAL WORKERS

ERNEST R. GROVES

THE title of this discussion must not give the impression that family discord is rare and necessarily bad. A family with no discord would be so highly abnormal as to be a social monstrosity. The question, therefore, as to when discord reaches such a degree as to become a serious problem of adjustment is largely relative. In such a judgment much depends upon the attitude of the observer. Those who from childhood have become accustomed to a considerable amount of wrangling within the family would accept a larger amount of

discord as normal than would those whose family relationships were generally devoid of friction. This relativity further complicates a problem which is inherently complex. There is, however, no way of avoiding the subjective element in the definition of serious family discord.

The first step in the treatment of family discord is to discover its meaning. This we cannot do without a true picture of the family as an institution. The family is the chief burden bearer of all our social institutions. It is the only one which provides a freedom of interplay that per-



mits each personality to express his dissatisfactions fully in the relationships he has with the other members. The opportunity that intimacy provides makes the home a clearing house for every sort of discontent. Although the trouble itself may have originated far afield, its expression is sure to appear as soon as the individual finds himself within the confines of household privacy. The family becomes the dumping ground for all sorts of grievances, and in the unloading process it is frequently true that one individual jars on another so that a discord is created, whose cause lies outside of the family circle. This means that the family is often charged with originating difficulties for which it is not actually responsible.

Thus it becomes necessary to distinguish in the discord of family life two different sorts of conditions. In one we deal with the discharge of personal maladjustments brought about in the outside activities of life. This sort of discord merely makes use of the opportunity the home provides for frank and intimate and tension-relieving self-expression. For this sort of discontent the home furnishes an institutional form of catharsis. The strain of the experiences outside the family is reduced by the opportunity that is obtained to speak out the ugliness that has been concealed through prudence, when it originated at the place of employment or at the social gathering. Trouble is forced upon the family for which it is not responsible, but its gift of a safe outlet for turbulent feeling is of inestimable value in permitting the individual in his ordinary walks of life to maintain his courage and poise.

The other sort of discord comes from the relationships of the members of the family. It generates through the contact of person with person, and it is this that we ordinarily mean when we speak of

family discord, although we are frequently wrong in our thinking, since the first type easily brings about the second, and creates as serious a predicament as if the family itself were responsible for all the trouble that arises. The type of discord that springs out of family activities is also in large measure the product of the special intimacy the family circle furnishes. No other institution would dare attempt to maintain such close contacts between persons as necessarily follow within the family. Secondary contacts escape much of the stress that comes when people are constantly in face to face association. The home is prolific in primary contacts. Indeed, in its quality of primary relationships, the family stands by itself. Nowhere else has human contact such an intensity of primariness. It follows that only in the family can we discover in its fullness the difficulty of human adjustments and the ease with which one individual gets on the nerves of another.

What the family provides is an arena of interaction in which each person reacts to the others in this intimate association. Moreover the conditions that operate are never merely those of the immediate present. Each person drags into his relationships with the others the memories of the past. This explains the obstacles in the way of family reconstruction. The incompatibility that appears to be the root of the family disturbance is fed by hidden streams that run far back into the events that have occurred years before. It is the entire life of each individual that has to be adjusted to that belonging to each of the other members of the family.

So far as causal influence is concerned, there is no past tense in the experience of family life. On the surface the trouble making interaction may appear to be the result of some minor and superficial factor;

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but seldom do we find this so insignificant when we carry it back nearer to the time of its actual origin. To put the matter differently, each member of the family, whether he is concerned with a new alliance in matrimony or a long continued relationship in a family in which always he has been a member, is a product of a family social heredity which has created dispositions that fit or unfit him for the particular association in which he tries to function.

As a consequence of this, we must always expect family discords to be more numerous, more intense, and more outspoken than most quarrels that happen out of the home. Ordinarily when discord does arise between individuals, its mischievous effects can be largely prevented by mere separation. This easy way to get rid of personal incompatibility can be given to the members of a family only by breaking up a relationship which is necessary for their full self-expression. One cannot run away from family difficulties without mutilating the relationship and suffering the consequences of failure in the chief fellowship of human association. The fact that people in the family are held together, even though they quarrel, adds force to their differences and drives them farther asunder. It is, therefore, the special kind of interaction that the family provides which makes it such a testing place of personality adjustments and leads it so often to fan into a flame the spark of irritation, which, were separation permitted, would never become a consuming fire of emotion. It is the sharpness of interrelations that produces most of the friction of domestic experience.

The force of the emotional upheaval that goes with family discord is in direct proportion to the underlying tenderness that ties together the quarreling persons. Strangers, acquaintances or even friends

can have a sharp difference of opinion with an outburst of temper, but without the feeling that the whole personality is outraged, as in a passionate outburst between members of a closely-knit family. The family clash is felt by its participants not as an isolated occurrence but as a dreadful culmination of years of affection. In contrast to the preceding feeling of fraternal, filial or conjugal tenderness, the emotional explosion looks all the blacker. Because of the intensity of feeling, it seems at the moment to each contestant as if the glaring eyes and biting words of the other reveal his basic attitude, ordinarily covered by tolerance, but now bursting forth because of his inability to hold it longer in check. In the midst of their passionate orgy none of the furious members of the family doubts the steadfastness of his own feeling of deep affection for the other; he adds fuel to the fire of his anger by reminding himself of the heartless return made to him for his unshakable fondness for the one with whom he is in turmoil.

Everyone has noticed how surely the family storm is followed by an excess of tenderness between those who were in arms against each other. Having delivered themselves of whatever grievances were gnawing them, and received retorts that are at least shorn of subterfuge, they feel the redoubled pull of habits of affection and enjoy the security of an emotional bond that has weathered so rough a gale.

In milder form, discord within the home demonstrates its close connection with family pride and affection. The brother, wife or daughter is heatedly remonstrated with for shortcomings that are allowed to pass without comment in the maid or student or fellow-worker. When it is one close of kin that is at fault, vigorous attempt is made to correct the deficiency, from a fear of personal loss of prestige if

the minor crudeness is not overcome. This is noticed in the anxious fussing of a mother over her young children, but it is not so commonly recognized as the basis of the adolescent's criticism and attempted control of his parents and younger brothers and sisters. Fearful lest they appear before his friends badly dressed and old-fashioned or unmannerly, he chides them in tones whose bitterness shows the emotion he feels. The adolescent's effort to make over his family is usually spoken of as an extension of self-pride. This it is, indeed; but no more so than the mother's nagging at her little ones in order to have them reflect credit on her, or the wife's picking up her husband on minor points of etiquette, that she need not feel ashamed for him.

We credit modern life with having added difficulty to the normal problems of family adjustment. Frequently what really has happened is that the individuals have become more sensitive to the irritations that normally gather about close contact. The responses they make to the disturbing circumstances multiply the volume of the discord in much the same way that the radio captures the least bit of static and turns it into the disagreeable squeaks and howls that vex the listener. We have been lifted so far above mere brute struggle that we have time and energy to react constantly to the stream of experience that carries us on through life. Our tolerance for the events outside the family is generally far greater than for those that come about through the intimacies of home life.

To a considerable extent the family is looked upon as a relief station, where one can recover from the sharpness of business and social clashing. The business man, for example, who has exhausted his toleration in the routine of his occupation, turns homeward with the desire to have peace

and comfort. If he finds, as he frequently does, that the quietness and freedom that he anticipated is broken into by family disputes or the rehearsal of grievances, his explosion will in part release the protest that he has been gathering all through the day. His occupation makes him more sensitive to family disturbance and more anxious to find in the home a refuge in contrast with his working day than was true of his father and grandfather, whose out-of-the-home life ran under lower pressure.

However, the conditions that send homeward the husband of today with eagerness for domestic felicity also operate to hamper the family as a functioning institution from giving him what he seeks. He asks more relief through the family than did his grandfather, and he reacts with more disappointment because of its apparent failure to meet his enlarged demands. The discordant element outside the family are to a larger extent taken for granted than are those that occur within its precincts. However overloaded the family may be with the task of providing emotional security and release, its failures are never excused, and the blame heaped upon it gives no consideration to the predicament in which it is placed.

There are various kinds of discordant families. They may be roughly divided into three general classes—those that have a lack of harmony concealed, those in which clashing is acute, and those afflicted by chronic discord. In order to have any promise of success in dealing concretely with family difficulty it is necessary to attempt the analysis of each one of these different sorts of discordancy.

In the family with concealed discord, someone is sitting on the lid. The harmony that prevails is artificial. It comes only from the suppression of the protesting



members of the family, who, had they the courage or power, would break in upon the authority and cause a disturbance. It is because modern life has made the screwing down of the lid so difficult that much of the apparent increase in discord has come. The authoritative family, usually of the patriarchal type, conceals discord that otherwise would appear upon the surface. The rapidity with which women have aged in the past, their invalidism, mental breakdown, and early death have been in part because of the strain of concealing irritation that was not permitted self-expression.

It is not uncommon to find in the history of a seriously discordant family that the early stages of the difficulty have been concealed, from the motive of discretion. Recently I was consulted by a husband whose first knowledge that his wife was dissatisfied came to him several years after their marriage when, upon her return from a visit she had made to a neighboring city, she announced to him that she was leaving him for good and all and, whether he divorced her or not, was going to live with another man. No husband could have had a greater surprise, for although there had been for many months on her part a rapidly increasing dissatisfaction, it had not been expressed in such a way as either to attract his attention or give him any warning of what was about to happen.

Many concealed discords of family life are carried to the grave without other members of the family ever having any inkling as to the truth. More often the relationship grows more and more barren until, devoid of affection, it is held together by mere routine, or sometimes economic advantage. These unspoken tragedies, carried as innermost burdens for many years, are perhaps the most pathetic. How many such families there

are, from the nature of the case, can never be known. The experienced social worker is led by his discovery of many families of this type to become unduly skeptical in regard to the proportion of success men and women attain in matrimony.

Acute discord that arises in family relationships, even when it takes violent form, if only a settlement is finally reached, leaves no emotional scar, but as is so often true in infectious diseases, there is a danger that the incompatibility, if it invokes much feeling, will lead to predisposition to another attack.

Acute discord, if it does not continue too long, or become too extreme, deserves to be thought of as a normal struggle of various individuals, bound together by common ties to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of their conflicting interests, feelings and attitudes. Especially in the case of growing children do we find intermittent struggle as a result of interplay of their developing personalities. Here, as elsewhere, the dominant authority which cuts short all expression of these natural differences is bound to injure the children concerned. Some will grow docile, some will learn to hide, at least from the parent's eye, their genuine reaction; others will become victims of bitter brooding, or seek relief in daydreaming of opportunities for vengeance against what seems to be the bad treatment given them; while some, without question, will be left with a propensity for dispute and quarrel which will be carried over into later life, and lead them to utilize to the full the opportunity presented when they are freed from the tyranny of the home. If children are quarreling in their hearts, there is no advantage in hiding the true state of affairs by forbidding their lips to speak out their hostile thoughts.

For both the adult and the child acute

discord provides an opportunity to make the frequent settlement of grievances that is necessary for individuals in close contact who have a normal amount of self-assertion. The danger of the acute quarrel is, of course, that it be prolonged or start a habit of accumulation of friction until from it comes a chronic discord.

It is the family which has constant trouble that we usually think of when we talk about the discordant family. It is well for us to remember that even these families that exhibit constant incompatibility have culminated from a growth of trouble, and that their predicament has a history which we must attempt to understand if we would treat with any promise of success the situation in which the family finds itself. When discord has become chronic, irritation arises so easily and is so often present that the relationship, whether that of family or marriage, is a continuous strain, which for the good of the persons concerned, should be ended either by complete separation or by a treatment of the trouble which will reduce or eliminate the causes of the friction. Frequently, as the experienced social worker so often finds, the length of time that the family has been in trouble makes a solution of its problems difficult. Here, as in medical practice, early diagnosis and prevention can accomplish much, while curative efforts must largely fail.

When we turn our attention to the problem of treatment, it becomes evident that our first task is to understand, as far as we may, the origin of the discord. We need to obtain, if possible, a perfectly frank statement of the occasion which has led to the difficulty. This is usually not hard, because the persons concerned are so overwhelmed by their emotions that the one thing they are eager to do is to rehearse the antagonism which is uppermost in their thought. To them the episode that

brought about the tension is regarded as the cause, but we will not be misled by this face. The provocative incident is generally merely an occasion. The causes go farther back and reveal clashing personalities that are tied to a relationship which brings them into close and constant association. Our initial effort must be to interpret these personalities, whose contact is bringing about the discord. If our diagnosis leads us to tag one or both of the personalities with some moral fault which permits us to explain the incompatibility, we spoil our investigation.

Personalities must themselves be thought of as products, rather than acting merely as causes. They are the result of previous experience, and whatever their moral or social defect, it is an expression of the equipment with which they started life and the influences that have acted upon them to give them a definite set. We, therefore, are interested in their past, not so much because of what they have done, as because of what has been done to them. Their self-expression may represent mere repetition of an attitude or motive which has been driven into their character by former happenings. We seek not an indictment but an explanation. The continued record of quarrelsomeness or restlessness or selfishness in myriad forms does not solve our problem, but merely puts into clearer form what we are attempting to diagnose. Evidence of a well-established habit reveals the difficulty of any solution, but it gives little information as to how the problem is to be solved.

Of one thing we can usually be sure. Any analysis that leads us to a single cause of the family difficulty is an error. It may well be that one influence so predominates as to deserve the chief emphasis, but human nature is never completely dom-

inated by a single causal influence. The author who makes the character in his novel an unmixed embodiment of some moral quality produces a caricature rather than a person who has the semblance of life. What is true in fiction is even more true in life itself. No family discord can be charged up entirely to the effects of financial difficulty, or neurotic characteristics, habits of promiscuity, or unadulterated ugliness.

At this point lies the subjective danger which the investigator must recognize. He also has emotions, and easily reacts to the faults he finds in one or both parties to the family disturbance, in such a manner that some things are selected from the complexity to receive undue attention. We know the risk in medicine of the specialist who always finds the cause of illness based on the organ that he treats. In social diagnosis this risk of subjective selection is a hundred-fold more likely to occur, but it is so in accord with the way we diagnose social situations that it does not draw forth the protest it rouses in medical circles. Yet the investigator who has not been given insight to understand the kind of situations to which he reacts excessively in his emotions is disqualified for social diagnosis.

Recently I gave counsel to a social worker, whose employment necessitated the preparation and presenting to court of cases in which men were accused of sex offenses, especially prosecutions for abusing girls under the age of consent, or involving unmarried motherhood. This girl came to me because of her chronic hostility to men and her absolute lack of any kind of sex feeling. In childhood she had been informed of the serious misconduct of her father during the time that her mother was incurably ill, and the consequences of this experience were such that when she faced it squarely she saw clearly

the pleasure she had been getting from power to prosecute men, and her utter unfitness for the work she was doing. In her effort to reconstruct a normal personality, she at once resigned from the work in which she was engaged, and entered one that would bring her into normal relationships with wholesome men. Doubtless, she had appeared to the society as highly efficient, but it was a revelation to her to discover for herself how biased she had been in all her thinking and acting.

When all the information has been gathered that is obtainable with reference to the earlier history of the personalities involved in a family discord, the question of treatment immediately arises. It is necessary, at the outset, to realize how difficult any solution is for a chronic family discord. For the reasons already stated, it is extremely hard to rebuild a family life. One is not dealing with a clash but with a collision of forces that have accumulated through the development of the personalities involved. The power of recovery present in individuals is sometimes extraordinary. In any case, it is the business of the social worker to tackle the problem presented, and do her utmost to lead the family out of its difficulty.

The technique of treatment does not, of course, lend itself to any arbitrary formula. But the problem does present distinct points of attack. First, attention must be given to the points of clash. The significance of this largely depends upon the personality background involved. If the clashing is in small proportion the result of influences of the past, and shows to a large extent an original difficulty, then the hope of solution is larger than when the clashing point itself is insignificant, and is merely a temporary expression of a deep-seated incompatibility. In any case, the question at issue, the attitudes taken



and the emotions expressed need to be made as clear and conscious as possible. The attempt to make grievances definite and to reduce them to their lowest terms in itself helps toward a solution.

The next effort of the friendly counsellor is to discover the point of attack where he can with some chance of success inject the suggestions, advice or criticisms that may start the family on the road to recovery. It is this that tests the experience and skill of the social worker. In practice the question *when* arises in addition to the *how*. Premature counsel runs the risk of loss of force. The operation is nearly as delicate to perform in the social field as is a major operation in surgery. It is extremely important that the suggestions given appear to the patient an effort at solution rather than a judgment made after hearing evidence. In so far as the social worker assumes the rôle of judge, or even umpire, little progress in settlement can be made. Instead of trying to solve their discord, the conflicting personalities will use their energy in the effort to win as an ally the social worker who stands outside as a critic, waiting for the testimony that will permit the passing of a verdict. It is imperative, therefore, that the atmosphere of a friendly counsellor, or diagnostician, be created, rather than an authoritative administrator of responsibility.

Another question that arises as a social worker attempts the treatment of a discordant family is, How much of resource is there in the family for its recovery? The answer to this question largely depends upon the history of the case, and the characteristics that have been found to belong to the personalities involved. There is a sense in which eventually the family must solve its own problems, or no satisfactory final settlement is possible. If all affection has been destroyed, if the

sense of responsibility has been entirely lost, if indifference to public opinion has become absolute, the family contains little material that can be made use of in its reconstruction.

Another question that arises frequently is whether the family situation calls for efforts at relief or the strengthening of the characters who need to endure the domestic strain. Sometimes a temporary relief through some sort of family vacation is sufficient to bring back a normal relationship. At other times it is apparent that any complete solution of the problems involved is impossible. Even so, it is well for those upon whom the burden falls to remember that the breaking up of the family may also produce problems and present hardships to test endurance. It may be severe doctrine, but it is fundamentally true that a domestic problem often cannot be merely dissolved by separation in the easy way that partners in a business enterprise may cease their co-operation. When children are present, it is often found that the divorce which came through the clashing of incompatibility is but a prelude to problems that prove as difficult to handle as was the domestic infelicity. When emotions run strong and the individual is committed to freedom or a vengeful effort to punish the guilty person, it is not easy to foresee the difficulties that follow a domestic smash. It is unfortunate that our legal method of getting divorces encourages their being obtained in hot blood and even denies them when they are sought in cool judgment and by mutual consent.

From the beginning to the end of treatment, the social worker has to recognize that no family can be greatly helped by forcing adjustment upon it by outside pressure. The temptation to use authority to force persons in conflict to settle their differences is great, especially since ap-

parent miracles can come about if religious, or legal or social pressure be invoked, but such victories are specious, and soon reveal their little worth. Family adjustment must be inward, and not outward. It must come about by an actual harmonizing of interest, rather than the mere bowing down to forces that cannot be withstood but that leave the individual with a sense of oppression and bitterness that soon shows itself in a fresh outbreak of trouble. Adjustment under threat may be forced, but it cannot be maintained. Sooner or later such a

settlement must meet the testing of the ordinary family routine, when the pressure that has produced the temporary settlement has been withdrawn. It would be a revelation of the failure of the courts if the cases where divorces that have been asked for but denied could be studied so that the subsequent career of the family would be known. Denying separation does not establish unity. No treatment of family discord promises success that does not undertake the difficult task of actually changing the family life that those who feel asunder may again join together.

## COMMUNITY OF INTEREST AS A BASIS FOR FAMILY SOLIDARITY

JOANNA C. COLCORD

I SHOULD like to begin the discussion of Professor Groves' paper by a reference to another contribution on much the same subject, made at Buffalo by a speaker at the Conference on Family Life in America Today. At that conference, Professor Ogburn showed how, although one after another of its earlier functions have been shorn away from the family, it nevertheless still retains one indispensable function—that of furnishing the affection needed by the developing personality.

I found myself wishing, as I listened to that paper, that Professor Ogburn had defined a little more closely what he meant by affection. It is a word which embraces many facets of meaning. Just what, within its compass, are we to think of as factors in family life which no other institution can supply?

I believe that the central factor is *community of interests*. The individual must have somewhere a group who cares about what happens to him; and this caring

must be more vital than the loose and casual interest of a group of friends or a fraternal organization. (Might it be pointed out in passing that the pledges of mutual defense and support exchanged in fraternal organizations are probably a formal attempt to imitate the natural bonds of offensive and defensive alliance within the family?) The life of this group must be so bound up with the individual's that it is a matter of the deepest importance to them what he does or becomes.

This factor is included in or related to family affection, but it can exist independently of the rather vague and tempered emotion which the word calls up to our minds. Affection is hardly compatible with prolonged strife within the family group, but community of interests can and often does survive the disappearance of all recognized forms of affection. A deeply critical attitude toward one member, while it cripples that individual's personality, is not incompatible with a

deep underlying sense that the critics are so critical simply because they care so vitally. The last factor to vanish, in the disintegrating family, is this very unity of interest. And I believe that this fact explains why this is so often the social worker's point of attack in attempting the treatment of family disorganization. We speak of it as an appeal to the sense of responsibility, but it is more than that; it is an attempt to reawaken a sense of the interdependence of the members of a family group.

Briggs had a series of cartoons a few years back in which he showed the homecoming at night of the followers of various daily occupations. The office boy would be shown recounting how he got the better of a pushing salesman, and what the boss said in approbation; the telephone girl repeats the words with which she rebuked the "fresh guy," to her mother's adoring praise, and her kid brother's half-jeering approval. Real folks they were, giving their egos a chance to expand a little in the genial atmosphere of home. And in his later series, "Mr. and Mrs.," who can doubt the essential unity of interests of Joe and Vi, even though domestic discord seems to be a weekly visitor to their home?

At its best, the family is not only the group that cares what happens to its members; it is the place where the ego, wounded by competitive contacts with the world, can get renewal of strength. True, indiscriminating praise and admiration at home can be carried so far as to create a real fissure of personality in its contrast with the world outside. But a certain amount of praise and partisanship is a necessary stimulus to the development of a healthy egotism. The man who knows, unconsciously, that his mother is always going to see his best side, excuse his mistakes, see him head and shoulders above all his competitors, will be heartened by

this knowledge even though he knows it is an amiable delusion. And he will have a subconscious incentive to live so as to keep that delusion intact.

But even when this element is lacking, when home is a place for recrimination and fault-finding, the solid earth does not shift under our feet as long as we are positive that the family group is emotionally tied up with our concerns. If that is lacking, manifestations of casual affection become meaningless, praise and approval mere formalities. Many of us, I am sure, are familiar with that wide-spread terror of childhood, the fear lest our parents are concealing from us the fact that we are not really their own child, but adopted! Something of the same feeling of homelessness in an unfriendly world results when we become convinced that those belonging to us no longer share vitally in our concerns.

A book which should be read by social workers and sociologists alike, for the picture it gives of stable versus unstable family life, is William McFee's *Casuals of the Sea*. In the contrasted portraits of the Gooderiches and the Browns, we see the latter, vigorous, acquisitive, with an aim which never by any chance exceeds their grasp, narrow of vision and restricted in ideas—and yet so bound together by an unquestioning loyalty to the family and all that belongs to it that, within the limits they have set for themselves, they are a successful and perfectly functioning group. Their vastly more interesting and agreeable cousins, the Gooderiches, full of ideals and vague impulses of affection, lose touch with each other as soon as they have turned the corner, and except where the Browns come forward to offer them an occasional temporary haven, drift on the winds of adversity to certain shipwreck, singly and alone.

In the matter of the social treatment of



family disintegration, I want only to expand a bit on some part of Professor Groves' paper, with most of which I am in hearty accord. Take the matter of his emphasis on a full history from the client of how the trouble began. We want to go back to early history, not only to have a background for the present situation, but to learn what we have to work upon—what were the attainments of the family in happier times? To do this, and this I want to emphasize, we need to have a picture of the situation, past and present, through other eyes than those of the persons emotionally involved in the difficulty. We need to know the things they have forgotten, or never recognized as having a bearing on the situation. We need, in other words, to make a social investigation. This is where the family social worker and the psychiatrist differ most widely in their method. The social worker has accepted, with deep gratitude, many hints from the other field on how to empty the client's mind of what weighs upon it, but she still maintains that what is in the client's mind is not sufficient for the purpose, and that other sources must be consulted for fact and opinion of significant import.

As to the attitude which the social worker brings to the settlement of family difficulties, Professor Groves' statement that it must never be censorious must be emphatically repeated, as applying to the stages of investigation and diagnosis. There is sometimes a place in treatment, however, for a ruthless piercing through of the rationalizations which a person may have wrapped about his conduct. This can and should be conducted impartially and without reproaches, but it is sometimes a necessary operation in social surgery, and cannot be left out of our list of permissible techniques. It comes late in the process, after a sufficient basis of confidence has been laid for plain

speaking to be possible between social worker and client.

Another point I should like to make is the length of the process of family rebuilding. I am sure Professor Groves realized that also, but the process as he described it sounded swifter than it generally is. Court room reconciliations are notorious for their brevity; it's the period of after-care that counts. Pretty constant encouragement for from one to three years is about the only effective treatment from the social case work point of view. There is not time to give illustrations of this, but I have a number, in which the treatment ranged all the way from training a Polish peasant woman to adopt American standards of home-making, introducing musical evenings into the home, restraining another wife from flaunting her superior knowledge over her husband, moving a family to lessen the undesirable intervention of relatives, and teaching an immigrant husband who had omitted the process, how to court his wife.

In conclusion, I should like to propose for consideration of social worker and sociologist alike, a possible next move in the matter of family difficulties. There can be little doubt that what keeps many families from seeking advice before it is too late, as Professor Groves' clients have done, is that there are generally speaking, no private practitioners in the field. To avail himself of the services of the social worker, one must take the pauper's oath, and accept those services free. The visiting nurse organizations have made a commendable step away from this position in offering bedside care in the home on a graduated price scale. I should like to see some family agency experiment with a pay consultation service in cases of domestic difficulty, and I believe it would be patronized, even if it might not ever become a source of much income to the agency.

## THE CASE WORKER'S AIM IN TREATING FAMILY DISCORD

HARRY L. LURIE

THE legalistic method of enforcing family status, and the use of various means of supplying deficiencies in the budget of family needs and services has been accepted as the traditional technique suitable for dealing with domestic difficulties. This is giving way to an attempt to base treatment upon a careful diagnosis of the social and psychological factors involved. The case practice upon which Professor Groves bases his generalizations may be related to similar efforts of Mental Hygiene Clinics, the practice of psycho-analysts, and others. All of these apply, in various forms and interpretations, the organized experience of the social sciences, psychiatry and biology to a solution of the patient's problem. The social case worker upon whose viewpoint this discussion is premised, similarly employs various hypotheses and techniques, depending upon the range of his experience and knowledge. The treatment of domestic discord is an open field, far from standardization and organization. As a developing practice it must continue to be experimental and tentative, imbued, however, with the spirit of research and equipped with research facilities. In this discussion it might be of interest to relate present social work theory and practice to the suggestions presented by Professor Groves, who approaches the problem as a sociologist.

The methods of the social worker in domestic discord are related to the customary practices of case analysis and treatment, which in their turn rest upon developed methods of observation and study of the individuals and families who bring their problems to the attention of social agencies. Case work is based on

theoretical presuppositions of the family as a social institution, the traditions and mores of contemporary family life, the legal aspects of individual responsibility in family relations, and the physiological, psycho-sexual, and psychological aspects of individual behavior. It might be said that the social worker is emphasizing at the present time the importance of psychological factors, which includes an attempt to understand the personal motivation in its relation to the situation of family disorganization which is being treated. While the social worker has integrated in his underlying assumptions various generalizations offered by anthropology, sociology, and psychiatry, as a practitioner the social worker seeks variable details rather than types. The social worker wishes to understand the total personality and total situation rather than the critical event. Each family problem, therefore, must be visualized in terms beyond existing theories and generalizations, even though such generalizations aid in the interpretation of the personal situation which is being studied.

A family relationship, similar to all other expressions of human behavior, cannot be conceived of as a single instance of general patterns of conduct or behavior types. Neither should the concept of family organization itself be considered as a fixed abstraction. As Professor Groves has pointed out, discord as a by-product of the interaction of individuals in the family group is the inevitable accompaniment of family relationship. It is the coefficient of the close relationships of persons differing in sex, age, temperament and in other attributes,

and must be considered as natural as harmony. While the ideal desired in social case work is an improvement in such relationships and the removal, if possible, of the most serious phases of discord and maladjustment, such attempts must rest upon a pragmatic understanding of processes in family life. This means that the social worker must always keep clearly in mind the existing personal relationships as distinct from the desirable or the theoretical ideal in family life.

A general consideration of family relationships, particularly among such families as bring their problems to the attention of social agencies, offers the conclusion that for many persons the expectancy of a desirable family status, based upon current beliefs of family life, must be considered as abnormal and unsuited to the actual personalities with whom the social worker is dealing. In fact, the aims for which the different persons in the family group are striving (based as they are upon attitudes which are frequently the result of mis-education and of highly unreal beliefs, such as those circulated by romantic fiction, by tabloid newspapers, and by the plots of motion pictures) might be evaluated as neurotic rather than healthy desires. That is to say, the wishes of many persons in the family group, though they correspond with popular notions, do not offer the basis of an harmonious family adjustment. The divergence between such aims and the actualities of human relationships in the family group and in marriage is one of the large problems for the family practitioner. Because the possibilities in human relationships are so variable, one is struck not so much by the frequency of family disorganization and conflict, but by the tensile strength, the essential beauty in the personalities of many maladjusted families. The social

worker is repeatedly impressed with the power of the family and the marriage relationship to evoke positive response in the inter-actions of persons in the family group.

In the analysis of a domestic discord situation, the social and the psychological factors demand intelligent attention. Inasmuch as both types of factors are interwoven, it is difficult to see the family picture apart from a study of each. The case worker must understand in concrete terms the aims and wishes, the motivations and expectancies of husband, wife, son, and daughter in relation to the economic setting and the influences of the community and neighborhood. He must understand the physiological and psycho-sexual elements in each family relationship. The rôle an individual is capable of playing in his family group, unsatisfactory from the point of view of other members of the family, or relatives, or interested persons in the community, is only one of several personality aspects. Frequently the maladjusted individual is capable of an effective life outside of the family responsibilities imposed upon him. For example, a poor mother and a slovenly housekeeper, may have been, or may become, an effective practical nurse or business woman, a club or church leader, or occasionally a good professional housekeeper in other than her own family setting. Similarly, a husband functioning as poor provider, may be a congenial partner to the members of his family in other than the economic relationship, and if the economic demands be lessened or satisfied by improvement, the worst phases of the family discord may be dissolved.

We are in full accord with the suggestion made by Professor Groves that the practitioner should approach the family problem in the rôle of diagnostician rather



than that of judge, or mediator, or representative of the coercive authority vested in official representatives of the community agencies. This has become inherent in good social work practice. While requests for service come usually from one member of the family, and indicate a strong desire for an ally or a partisan in helping to enforce individual demands and in aiding to secure domination by one individual of his wishes, or of compelling the response of other persons in the family, no effective solution of difficulties can come from other than the objective person. Frequently complaints are dropped when the complainant realizes that the social worker is not willing to serve in a partisan rôle.

In addition to the psychological function which the practitioner plays, must be added the service performed by the worker as social physician. The limitations of this discussion do not permit going into these at length, but briefly stated they include such services of giving or obtaining enlightenment in matters of basic sex adjustment, providing physical well being, offering or furnishing incentives towards enlarged economic opportunities within the capacities of the individual, and helping to discover the beginnings of, or latent, organic physical or mental diseases. Particularly in many instances has it been found desirable to obtain competent medical advice in sex hygiene and suitable methods of family limitation. This problem is frequently an important factor in sex incompatibility, giving rise to fears, aversions, and other hindrances to proper response in the sexual relationship. From such unsatisfactory sex relationships spring the emo-

tional discord and bickerings which are otherwise so difficult to analyze.

The social worker is sometimes criticized for the persistent and frequent attempts which are made towards effecting family reconciliation, where, in the opinion of the critic a dissolution of the family ties seems the easiest and the most effective treatment. Reconciliation is attempted not because it offers an ideal solution, nor even because it serves the aims of the community, but because for many an individual the established family grouping offers the best adjustment he or she is capable of making. This advice is not easy to accept when the individual suffers from the hope that with another partner or family, or with no partner at all, a more satisfactory life organization is possible. An experience with many different persons of varying temperaments, forces the conclusion upon the social worker that a partial satisfactory adjustment within the present family is the maximum of practical accomplishment for many persons. Many families, of course, should never have been organized, but that they were organized is an indication of a partial or at least a temporarily successful adjustment. To restore this adjustment is a hopeful possibility in many instances.

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to the dearth of research facilities in this phase of case work, as in fact in other aspects of social case work, the need for a collaborative study between the social worker, the sociologist, and the psychiatrist, of organized and disorganized families from every angle, including the social, the economic, and the sexual.

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL: ITS ORIGIN AND OBJECTS

A. F. KUHLMAN

THE beginnings of the Social Science Research Council may be said to date from the December meeting of the American Political Science Association in 1921, when a Committee on Political Research was appointed, of which Professor Charles E. Merriam was made chairman. The purpose of this Committee was to scrutinize the scope and method of political research in the field of government, and to obtain a clearer view of the actual situation, and to offer constructive suggestions.<sup>1</sup>

In its work, during the following year, this Committee devoted itself primarily to a survey of existing research agencies and their methods, to find ways and means for the improvement of the quality and quantity of political research. The preliminary report of the Committee was presented to the Association at its December meeting in 1922. This report disclosed among other things:

1. That appreciable progress had been made in recent years in the development of a more scientific and inductive methodology in certain of the social sciences which might be of great value to other related social sciences.

2. That there was excessive over-specialization, too complete departmentalization and isolation of the special social sciences.
3. That there was no effective medium to insure coöperative and coördinated research in the social sciences.
4. That the research efforts of some of the most competent men in political science were frequently crippled and thwarted because of lack of equipment, lack of leisure, and heavy teaching loads in our colleges and universities.
5. That a sounder empirical method of research had to be achieved in political science if it were to assist in the development of a scientific political control.

As one of its major recommendations, the Committee urged "the establishment of a Social Science Research Council consisting of two members each from Economics, Sociology, Political Science, and History, for the purpose of:

- a. The development of research in the social studies.
- b. The establishment of a central clearing house for projects of social investigation.
- c. The encouragement of the establishment of institutes for social science study, with funds adequate for the execution of various research projects and publications, in the various fields of science.
- d. Suggestions to various governmental authorities regarding the statistics collected in the field of social investigation.

<sup>1</sup> *American Political Science Review*, 17: 274, 1923.

- e. The teaching of social science in American colleges and universities.
- f. Any other ways and means of encouraging the development of the scientific study of politics.

Further, the Committee urged

that every effort be made to bring about the closest coöperation between students of politics and the other branches of social science and also with the students of psychology, anthropology, geography, biological science, and engineering to the end that the new political science may avail itself of all of the results of modern thought in the attempt to work out scientific methods of political control.

To further the effort to establish a Social Science Research Council, Professor Merriam submitted the proposal to establish such a council to the American Sociological Society and the American Economic Association at the December meeting in 1922. The sociologists immediately approved the recommendation and voted to participate in the movement. The economists joined in the effort early in 1923.

A second factor that stimulated the development of the Social Science Research Council was the precedent set for such a council in the physical-science field by the National Research Council. This precedent gave impetus to the establishment of the Social Science Research Council, not merely by providing it a model, but also because the National Research Council asked from social scientists coöperation in its "Studies of Human Migration." This request was presented through Professor Merriam at the preliminary meeting held in Chicago in 1923 for the purpose of considering the organization of a Social Science Research Council. Since that time, the scientific study of human migration has been one of the major research interests of the Social Science Research Council.

A second research problem that gave an impetus to the formation of the Social Science Research Council was one on

which preliminary work had been done by a committee of the American Sociological Society. In 1919 at the December meeting of the American Sociological Society, Professor F. Stuart Chapin, of the University of Minnesota, had proposed that a joint committee representing the social science associations be appointed to investigate and report upon a plan to provide indices of abstracts in the social sciences corresponding to *Chemical Abstracts* and *Science Abstracts*.<sup>2</sup> This project was taken up and carried forward by the American Sociological Society, and much preliminary work was done prior to the initial meeting that was called to consider the formation of the Social Science Research Council. At that meeting Professor Chapin presented a report on progress.

On February 24, 1923, Professor Merriam called a preliminary meeting in Chicago to consider the organization of a research council in social science. At this meeting, Political Science was represented by Professor Merriam and Professor R. H. Crane, of the University of Michigan; Economics by Professor Horace Secrist, of Northwestern University; and Sociology by Professor J. L. Gillin, of the University of Wisconsin. Pending permanent organization of the Council, Professor Merriam was appointed chairman and plans were formed for the organization of a Social Science Research Council. On May 17, 1923, representatives of the three social science associations mentioned above met formally in Chicago and organized the Social Science Research Council with Professor Merriam as President and Professor Secrist as Secretary. At this meeting, there were present Professors Merriam, Secrist, Crane, and Chapin. The projects discussed at this meeting were the Study of Human Migration,

<sup>2</sup> *Pub. American Sociological Society*, 14: 269, 1919.



the Social Science Abstract Journal, and a plan for securing information on aims, methods, and publications of research agencies in economics, statistics, and sociology.

At a later meeting on November 10, of the same year, additional plans were developed for the membership of the Council. To secure uniformity of representation among the several associations, resolutions were passed, authorizing the appointment of three representatives for a period of three years from the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society. Invitations were also issued to the statisticians, the psychologists, and the anthropologists to become active members of the Council. During the following year, the Council consisted of three representatives each from the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, and the American Statistical Association. In 1925, the membership of the Council was increased by the addition of representatives from the American Psychological Association, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Historical Association. The appointed representatives of these seven national organizations constitute the membership of the Council, each of the associations appointing through its appropriate agency three representatives for a term of three years, one each year.

The purpose and attitude of the Council is admirably stated by its present chairman, Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, of Columbia University:

From the outset, the Council has sought to keep flexible its own conception of its scope and its scheme of organization. Broadly stated, its aims are twofold: to encourage carefully planned research by

coöperating workers in the several social sciences, and to serve as an informal general staff studying the larger possibilities of scientific methods applied to the understanding of man and his institutions.<sup>3</sup>

In the main, the Council serves as a planning and consulting agency, entrusting the supervision of the investigations it sponsors to organizations which seem best equipped to carry on given projects.

While major decisions and fundamental policies are determined by the Council itself, the most important administrative committee is that of Problems and Policy. The present committee, with its memberships and functions, was created in the summer of 1925 and followed a report of a temporary Committee on Problems and Policy and other representatives of the social sciences in attendance upon the first New Hanover Conference of psychologists and social scientists, August 31 to September 3, 1925. This original temporary committee was composed of Goss of Columbia; Ford of Minnesota; Gay of Harvard; Hall of Wisconsin; Harrison of the Russell Sage Foundation; Odum of North Carolina, chairman; Ogburn of Columbia; and Thorndike of Teachers College. The findings of this committee took the form of an informal report of the Committee of the Whole, which recommended among other things that the members of the Problems and Policy Committee should be chosen by the president of the Council on the basis of research ability and experience, and should not be restricted to the membership of the Council, and that the committee should not exceed six in number. They recommended that the function of the committee be:

- a. To devise and recommend regarding research problems referred to it by the Council and such other problems as the committee

<sup>3</sup> Quotations are from the annual Reports of the Council for 1926 and 1927.

may see fit to recommend. The committee will ordinarily deal with each of the following aspects of the problems considered.

1. The practicability of the problem for scientific investigation.
  2. The adequacy and appropriateness of the technic, plans and budget involved.
  3. The selection of the personnel for the supervision of the problem.
- b. To consider and report on any other problem or matter referred to the committee by the Council.

They recommended that the policies of the committee as to research be:

- a. Ordinarily it will be the policy of the Council not to undertake investigations directly other than preliminary studies.
- b. Ordinarily the Council should deal only with such problems as involve two or more disciplines.
- c. Generally it should be the policy of the Council to serve only as a clearing-house in matters of research in the social science field.

The present Committee on Problems and Policy consists of Harold G. Moulton, of the Brookings Institution, chairman; with Hall of Oregon; Gay of Harvard; Harrison of the Russell Sage Foundation; Wissler of Yale; and Woodworth of Columbia.

In order to bring to bear on each special field of research or on outstanding research problems, the knowledge and experience of a group of representatives of some of the disciplines represented in the Council, and of other recognized experts in a given field, the Committee on Problems and Policy recommended a policy of Advisory Committees, which has since been followed. It is the function of each of these committees first of all to try to see its respective field as a whole:

1. To determine the status of scientific research in its field.

2. To determine whether a research agency is necessary and practical to avoid useless duplication, to secure a maximum of co-operation, to influence the development of research so that it will be done by the most competent people.
3. If research is actually necessary, to determine the most strategic points of attack in the whole field.

The point of view of the committee, as stated by Professor Mitchell, is that "It is not concerned with system building, but with promoting scientific work upon any clearly defined problem of human behavior, which can be attacked by coöperative effort with good prospect of achievement." The committee believes that "scientific discoveries are discoveries of new problems quite as much as they are discoveries of facts," and that "the best way to promote the growth of the social sciences is to participate in formulating and studying specific problems which are now in a stage to be worked on effectively."

The opportunity for discussion of common problems at the first Hanover Conference and the personal relationships that were established proved so helpful that the Council conducted longer conferences in the summers of 1926 and 1927, at which all committees met together with other specialists invited to attend. Each advisory committee was in session at Hanover for a period of approximately a week, working over the projects proposed in its field, and making recommendations to the Problems and Policy Committee with reference to their disposition.

Another important feature of the Hanover Conference is the general evening session, at which a distinguished scholar or research student speaks informally concerning the technique he uses in the development of his problem, his results, and the significance of his research to the

other social sciences. The informal questions and discussions are no less valuable.

The value of the Hanover Conferences can hardly be exaggerated. It is proving itself a center for the coördination of social research. Informal contacts and personal relationships during the course of a week tend to break up the isolation that has characterized the social sciences in the past. The discussions of the various committees, the final reports, and the discussions at the general evening sessions have been a great aid in giving a better mutual understanding, and in the improvement of methodology that should be used in the social sciences in general, and on particular research projects of the Council.

Those who have attended the Hanover Conference will agree with Professor Merriam in describing this Conference as

a unique method of bringing each year a significant group of men and women interested in the basic problems of social research into an environment very favorable to leisurely reflection on the significance, methods, and interrelation of fundamental questions in the social field. . . . The occasion is full of important possibilities for the future of social science. Here are the conditions under which new contacts, new insights, new integrations, and new valuations may be gained; and new ways may be opened in the direction of social advance. For myself I have found no documents more valuable in my own work than the Proceedings of the conferences of 1925 and 1926.

The chief research activities of the Council are represented by ten advisory committees dealing with major projects of research: *Corporate Relations, Crime, Cultural Areas, Grants-in-Aid, Industrial Relations, International Relations, Interracial Relations, Pioneer Belts, Population, and Social and Economic Research in Agriculture.*

A second and very important phase of the Council's work concerns itself with *Scientific Method* in the Social Sciences. The committee having charge of this pro-

ject was one of the original committees created by the Council, and it is one of its five auxiliary committees. This Committee has selected Stuart R. Rice and R. M. MacIver to make a critical comparative study of the methods and standards employed in the United States and to make whatever contributions it may to the whole problem of scientific method in the social sciences. The results of the work of this committee are to be published in the form of a case book on methods in the social sciences. The work of this committee has been conducted under the chairmanship of Professor Horace Secrist.

A third activity of the Council consists of the granting of research fellowships, which are to be given primarily to promote the development of research personnel rather than to aid in the execution of research projects.

Preference is given to applicants who have taken their doctor's degree or the equivalent, who have shown unequivocal evidence of capacity for constructive research, who are still in years when minds are commonly flexible, and who, to promote their further development, need leisure, travel, technical assistance, further study or some other advantage not open to them without financial help.

The significance of such fellowships for the future development of the social sciences has been stated by Professor Mitchell:

If our research fellowships can give the ablest among the hundreds of men who aspire to do scientific work in the social field opportunity to develop their powers while they are still in their flexible years, we may hope for large results, ultimately if not immediately.

A fourth activity of the Council has resulted in the completion of plans for a *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*. It is gratifying to learn from the 1927 report of the Council that the Committee on Social Science Abstracts, of which Professor Chapin is still the Chairman, has com-



pleted the preliminary work for the publication of a *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*, and that a guarantee fund of \$500,000 extending over a period of ten years has been secured by the Council to establish such a *Journal*. It is obvious that this *Journal* will become perhaps the most important single research tool for social scientists in the future. It will make coöperative research possible on a basis hitherto unknown, because it will give the individual social scientist ready access to materials that are of help in related and interdependent fields.

Another promising activity proposed for the Council is the completion of a plan, possibly in conjunction with *Science Service*, whereby authentic, popular accounts and interpretations of the major results in the social sciences can be made readily accessible to the public. The need for such a plan of keeping the public informed regarding what is going on in the wide fields of social research is obvious. Commenting on this situation, Professor Merriam pointed out last year that: "Already there is a wide gap between what the community thinks social research is and what it actually is, and this gap is apt to become wider and wider unless active steps are taken to carry our public along with the changes and developments that are going on."

The Annual Reports for 1926 and 1927

from which we have quoted liberally are recommended to all those who are further interested in the meaning of the Social Science Research Council. The outgoing officers are: Charles E. Merriam, chairman; Wesley C. Mitchell, vice-chairman; Horace Secrist, secretary; Edmund E. Day, treasurer. The present officers are Wesley C. Mitchell, chairman; Arthur M. Schlesinger, vice-chairman; Robert T. Crane, secretary; and Robert S. Woodworth, treasurer. The work of the Council has been expedited by the establishment of a central office with Robert S. Lynd as assistant to the chairman, with offices at 50 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

The permanent usefulness of the Council, as Professor Mitchell has pointed out, will be limited on the one hand by the thought and energy at its command and on the other by the funds available. The challenge to supply the former is made by the Council to all the social scientists who are genuinely interested in scientific research. For both funds and coöperative efforts special recognition must be given to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation. To these and other foundations and to scores of universities, colleges, and social agencies, as well as to individual scholars, the Council looks with confidence for furthering coöperation, criticism, and help.

## THE NEW JOURNAL OF ABSTRACTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Professor F. Stuart Chapin has urged the importance of full coöperation in the plan and development of the new *Journal of Abstracts in the Social Sciences*. Reference to this has already been made in Mr. Kuhlman's article on the Social Science Research Council. Added points of emphasis in Mr. Chapin's announcement are:

A journal is proposed which will save an almost infinite amount of time and labor on the part of research workers, by giving them in one journal complete citations and short but objective abstracts of all important new materials, and will at the same time draw together the several disciplines by serving them all through one journal based upon some systematic classification and improved by numerous cross-references to the materials in other fields. Other important advantages of such a publication could easily be stated. It will save much duplication and waste of effort, it will apprise the worker of the existence of other specialists working on his problems and stimulate correspondence between them, it will call attention to new methods of research, it will serve as a permanent record of the work already accomplished, and will in many other ways promote the healthy development of the sciences to which it relates.

The Social Science Research Council has appointed an Organizing Committee consisting of the following scholars, and charged with the responsibility of organizing and establishing *Social Science Abstracts*: Dr. Isaiah Bowman, American Geographical Society; Dr. Davis R. Dewey, Editor of the American Economic Review; Dr. Carlton Hayes, Professor of History, Columbia University; Dr. Frederic A. Ogg, Editor of the American Political Science Review; Dr. Frank A. Ross, Editor of the Journal of the American Statistical Association; Dr. Clark Wissler, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University; and Dr. F. Stuart Chapin, chairman, Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota.

To assist the Organizing Committee, a

number of advisory committees have been appointed in the fields of cultural anthropology, economics, history, human geography, political science, sociology, and statistics. These advisory committees have been asked to suggest: (1) the names of scholars who may be considered for the position of salaried editors and unsalaried consulting editors; (2) to draw up a scheme of classification adequate to the needs of the systematic grouping of materials from their respective fields of specialization within the social sciences.

Since the Council is made up of delegates from the national learned societies in the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics, the purposes of the Council in its efforts to further coöperative scientific research in the social sciences is best served by devoting *Social Science Abstracts* to the fields of cultural anthropology, history, human geography, political science, sociology, and statistics, broadly construed.

*Social Science Abstracts* will be issued monthly during the year and in each issue will appear systematic abstracts of new information published in the fields indicated for the preceding month or months. *Social Science Abstracts* will be printed in English in this country, but it will attempt to cover the social science literature of the world as originally published in all languages.

Negotiations are under way to establish a satisfactory basis of coöperation with the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation of the League of Nations, in working out a modus operandi with the arrangements for economic abstracts undertaken by this international organization.

The test of published materials to be abstracted will in general be the criterion of *new information*, in the sense of important

factual studies and contributions to theory and opinion, in the fields of the social sciences indicated. This will require the careful scrutiny of articles in periodicals, pamphlets, bulletins, monographs, and new books. It is conservatively estimated that the annual number of

abstracts will run to fifteen or twenty thousand titles the first year. The abstracts will be cross-referenced and annual indexes published. It is hoped that the first number of *Social Science Abstracts* may be published within the present calendar year.

### SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

The fourth southern regional conference on teaching and research in the social sciences will be held at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, April 29 to May 2. The program is in charge of Dean Walter L. Fleming. The steering committee with a representative from each of the southern states is as follows: Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, chairman; A. B. Moore, University of Alabama; C. O. Branner, University of Arkansas; Raymond Bellamy,

Florida State College for Women; R. P. Brooks, University of Georgia; J. C. Jones, University of Kentucky; Walter Pritchard, Louisiana State University; Keyes Baker-Crothers, University of Maryland; Benjamin Kendrick, North Carolina College for Women; N. B. Bond, University of Mississippi; A. B. Adams, University of Oklahoma; G. Croft Williams, University of South Carolina; P. M. Hamn, University of Tennessee; R. H. Tucker, Washington and Lee University.

### NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The Memphis meeting of the National Conference is providing in Division XI a definite program on *Professional Standards and Education* with F. Stuart Chapin as chairman. Section III and Section V, Group Discussion 4, are devoted particularly to the relation of research to professional standards.

*Section Meeting I.* Opposing Tendencies in Building Basic Curricula of Schools of Social Work.

1. Specialization in Technical Courses of Arts Colleges and Graduate Professional Schools.
2. The Need of a Few Fundamental Courses.

*Section Meeting II.* Professional Standards in Undifferentiated Social Work—The Problem of Rural and Village Areas.

*Section Meeting III.* The Relation of Research to Professional Standards in Social Work.

1. Research as a Means of Training for Social Work.
2. Research as an End in Promoting Scientific Social Work: the Measurement and Evaluation of Programs of Social Work.

*Section Meeting IV.* (Joint Session with Association of Schools of Professional School Work.) Are There Underlying Principles and Policies Basic to Professional Standards in Social Work?

1. The American Association of Social Workers.
2. The American Association of Hospital Social Workers.
3. The Association of Schools of Professional Social Work.

*Section Meeting V.*

Group Discussion 1.

Problems of Graduate Schools of Social Work.

Group Discussion 2.

Problems of Training Social Workers in Arts Colleges.

Group Discussion 3.

Professional Standards in Undifferentiated Social Work.

Group Discussion 4.

Relation of Research to Professional Standards in Training of Social Workers.

Group Discussion 5.

Scientific Evaluation of Results of Social Work.



## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE WORK IN THE NORTH CAROLINA TEXTILE INDUSTRY<sup>1</sup>

HARRIET L. HERRING

WELFARE work by employers has a long history. Before there was industry, in the modern sense of the term, there were forms of welfare work by master for man not so different in nature and in spirit, and probably in motive, from the modern manifestations. It is not surprising, perhaps, that modern industry and society, grown infinitely more complex in other respects, should display a corresponding complexity in this field as well. New factors in the situation are the increased economic, social and even political importance of welfare work. For a large proportion of

the population this interest in the worker outside the job has come to have a bearing on total real wages, on community life, on individual initiative, and on some aspects of political freedom.

An even newer factor in the situation is a general and academic recognition of these implications of welfare work. Until the last few decades it was regarded as a matter for the conscience of the individual employer. If he had the spirit of Christian love or of benevolence, or if it appeared to be good business, he would do many things for the social, intellectual, physical and spiritual welfare of his workers. He was praised for it by society around him as any other philanthropist was. If he was hard-boiled and close-fisted he would do nothing. He might be criticised for his attitude but it was conceded to be perfectly defensible.

The welfare work of the textile industry in the South exemplifies many of the traditions of the earlier welfare work and embodies many typically southern features, facts which make it doubly interesting historically. To some students and observers it offers many of the modern problems just mentioned in intensified form, so that its present and probable future are interesting sociologically. At

<sup>1</sup> Miss Herring has just completed writing the story of industrial welfare work in North Carolina. The study, made under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science and to be published shortly, includes the following chapters: Welfare work as an approach to the study of the textile industry; Setting and scope of the present study; The mills and the schools; The mills and night classes; The mills and the churches; General community work and workers; Athletics, recreation and other aspects of the mill community; Health work in the mill village; Other outside activities; The mills and housing; Mill village appearance and policy; Opinions of welfare work: management, welfare workers and employees; Opinions of welfare work: neighbors and outsiders; Examples of opinion in the community; Backgrounds of welfare work; Development of welfare theory; Conclusions.—EDITORS.

present public attention is concentrated on textiles because it is another of the great industries that is "sick" and because of the striking developments in the South accompanied by a corresponding distressed situation in New England.

The study upon which this brief summary is based covered 322, or about 60 per cent, of the plants located in 53 of the 63 North Carolina counties containing textile mills. These plants employed 66,178 operatives, or somewhat over two-thirds of the 97,575 textile workers in the State.<sup>2</sup>

In most respects the welfare work of the mills of North Carolina is probably very much like that in other southern states. In one or two respects it is rather different. Certain factors have tended to keep the mills small: a state of individualistic people, the development of the industry by local capital and local leadership, the presence of numerous water power facilities easily developed on a small scale. For example, North Carolina has always been neck and neck with South Carolina in spindles, but has always had twice and frequently almost three times as many plants. There have been few units large enough to support elaborate welfare schemes. But the small, often isolated plants have insured a close relationship between owner and worker out of which informal, paternalistic welfare activities grew naturally. If the situation permitted control as well that was probably just as natural. The owners were local men highly sensitive to a local public opinion that approved of philanthropic work by the owner. This fact encouraged any natural bent he might have had in that direction. The non-aggressive attitude of the workers, their lack of experi-

ence in group living, their limited vision for community development, and their real gratitude for the better living at the mill gave an opportunity for paternalism which an owner might easily merge into control.

The entire situation with respect to welfare activities in North Carolina textile mills is, then, the outgrowth of somewhat peculiar, economic, social, psychological and general cultural conditions. The welfare work of any given mill is, if possible, even more the outgrowth of its own individual conditions. The character of the owner, the type of product, especially its marketing qualities, the labor policies and the consequent type of workers, their attitude and response to welfare work, the location of the plant, and even its very physical layout—these factors in infinite variety and combination make the history of each mill a more or less individual thing.

The Institute study, therefore, reveals no magnificent sweep of history, nor even a very consistent story. If we ignore the irregularities caused by some mills clearly ahead and others distinctly behind their contemporaries, there is perhaps a slender thread suggesting a trend, and a fair response to changes in the fashions of welfare work.

Before 1880 the small water power mills of North Carolina were almost like compact plantations. The few log, and later frame, houses of two, three, or occasionally four rooms, contained no frills; nor did they cost any rent. They were clustered around the mill and the company store, the two pivots of the life of the village. For, as on many farms of this period and later, the owner operated a commissary because there was no store within reach, or none convenient, or because he saw a chance of profit in the trade. Here the limited wants of the day

<sup>2</sup> *Biennial Report of Commissioner of Labor and Printing, 1926.*

and the even more limited buying capacity of the operatives were amply supplied. The pay was usually in the form of checks redeemable in goods at the store. When one's checks gave out his credit was good because he still had some days in the mill unsettled for. When he fell sick and had no days in the mill he got his simple medicines from the store, was "carried" by it for his groceries and the mill "stood for" the doctor's fee.

In, or somewhere near, the village the mill owner, aided sometimes by contributions from the operatives, built a simple wooden chapel. Here a circuit rider, who perhaps farmed on the side to eke out his living, preached once a month; and the mill owner and his family joined in the worship, taught Sunday school, and put in the basket the main portion of the preacher's meagre salary. Toward the end of the period under discussion, there was a belated revival of public education in North Carolina, and the owner used his influence to get a little district school started in or near the village. Usually, he built the one-room schoolhouse for the purpose, and served as committeeman for the little county school of two or three months. It was poorer than the regular district school because its pupils did not attend even as well as they did the schools serving farm areas. The mill wanted the older children for workers—not so old in those days, either; the parents wanted the wages of all that the mill would take; and "I got along without any larnin' and Pap got along without any larnin', and I guess Bud kin too."

High on the hill stood the owner's house, in size and prestige like the "big house" on the plantation. The owner's wife visited the sick, led in the Missionary Society, and at rare intervals she or someone representing the owning group held a night class to teach reading and writing and a bit of sewing.

The next period may be said to extend from 1880 to 1900. It represents the period of the rise of the mills to a stage where the State and the South began to attract attention in the textile world. In welfare work it is a period of gradual expansion and the fixing of many phases of the village pattern. It is probably in these years that the tradition of isolation became fastened upon the mill village. To the ranks of the little country mills isolated by necessity were now added many town and suburban mills.<sup>3</sup> But workers were brought from a longer distance, sometimes from mountain counties, and their cruder manner of life served to fasten more firmly a social disesteem already somewhat fixed upon the local tenant farmer who became a "factory hand." Exploitation of their children by fathers who excused their loafing with the explanation—partly legitimate—that their fingers were "like thumbs with them little threads," set another seal of separation upon the mill worker. Even if the mill was inside a town the children did not attend the struggling little graded school enough to become acquainted with other children; if it was outside in a sort of no man's land between town and country it had to have its own school. All these forces making for separation were of course concentrated in the field of religion, and the village must needs have its own church. The owner simply accepted the isolation of the village and its people that was partly of his own making and partly the result of social forces quite beyond his control.

He had begun to believe that if his employees were better educated they would be better operatives. If there was

<sup>3</sup> Seventy-seven of the mills included in this study were built in these two decades. Of these 36 were located inside the corporate limits of towns, 7 in unincorporated towns, 13 in suburban areas, and 23 in the country.



no school convenient to which the children were entitled to go he saw that one was started—not two or twenty years after the opening of the mill as in the earlier period but immediately.<sup>4</sup> He supplemented the short county term by paying the salary of the teacher for an additional one, two, or three months.<sup>5</sup> Aid to churches was even more common. The new mills of this period were somewhat larger and the old ones had been enlarged.<sup>6</sup> The various denominations came to be represented strongly enough to desire churches of their own. The company owned all the land close by; it practically had to furnish that; and as it did not want to sell any, it gave a lot usually with the promise, tacit or otherwise, that it would revert to the company if it ceased to be used for religious purposes. Thus divided, all the groups were small. They included no wealthy members; instead, most families lived close to a margin of subsistence. A church of their own made them more satisfied—the owner being a church man himself could understand that; besides, it helped to raise the tone of the village and, it was hoped, to attract a better class of workers. Because it seemed both necessary and desirable the mill helped to build as many churches as were wanted. The manager was usually willing to let a pastor have a cottage, rent free, for the

sake of having him reside in the village, although he served other churches as well. He sent a load of wood or a ton of coal to the church, he helped to buy the organ, he contributed to the Sunday school Christmas tree. The churches were small and unlovely and, often as not, dingy; and not unlike country churches of the period, the pews were benches made by the carpenters that built the building. It is probable, however, that their facilities compared more favorably with those of the average country or small town church of the day than the majority of mill churches compare today with the semi-institutionalized church of almost any small town. Every mill of the period covered by this study, then, aided churches in one way or another. To a single church it might give little, but the sum for the several churches and the various items totalled the largest single welfare expenditure.

Relief was probably the activity of next importance. It continued to take the same forms described in the early mills. All mills "took care of their people," some adequately, others meagrely, depending somewhat on the temperament of the manager.

Besides these well-nigh universal activities there were some others of which only an occasional example could be found. There were a half dozen sporadic attempts at night schools, and about the same number of brass bands. There were innumerable instances of aid to a group of the "boys" who wanted to play baseball by providing balls and bats and a place to play. There were three cases of company doctors. Most of the isolated mills joined the older plants in maintaining company stores. Practically all furnished garden plots and space for pigpens and cow stalls. Houses changed in appearance some, but little in real quality. It

<sup>4</sup> Thirty-seven of the 77 mills covered by the study that were built in this period built schools or in some way actually fostered their beginning. Seven of them supported the school entirely for periods varying from one to 12 years, until it was taken over by town or county.

<sup>5</sup> By 1899 out of 96 mills included in this study (19 built before 1880 and 77 from 1880 to 1899) 38 were in town or special school districts; 48 of the 58 remaining gave financial encouragement—the building, part or all of the salary, fuel and supplies—to schools serving the village.

<sup>6</sup> The mills of the State averaged less than 2,000 spindles in 1880; above 6,500 in 1900.

was not until the last decade that housing may be said to have become welfare work.

The next period extended from 1900 to 1917 when the boom times of the War reached the textile industry. In some respects this period furnishes more innovations in welfare work than any other. For although these new departures became more common in the years following 1917 they were experimented with in this period.

As regards mill history it was still a time of rapid expansion with a trend toward finer yarns and a development of weaving. The mill managers may have seen in these trends a need for better educated employees; they may have been seized by the popular enthusiasm for education that Aycock, McIver and others were rousing all over the State; they may have considered that at last opinion among the mill workers had reached a favorable stage; they may have been reacting to the violent spasms of criticism of southern child labor in the national press during 1901-1903, 1909-1911, and yet again beginning in 1916. Whatever the motive we find them going a step further than they had apparently ever gone before in relation to schools. They began to bring some pressure to bear on villagers to send their children to school. This necessitated larger school-houses, which they built or helped the public authorities to build. The state-wide interest in education created a demand that made it difficult for the mill schools to secure good teachers. Rather than take the poorest, those unable to secure schools more advantageously located socially, the mills began supplementing the county salary scale. Of course these aids in building and in supplementing terms and salaries were not carried on by all mills, for an increasingly large proportion were in towns or districts which provided what were con-

sidered adequate school facilities.<sup>7</sup> Sixty-four of the mills built in this period aided schools financially in some direct way besides contribution through taxation.

A field of greater innovation was that of community work. Between 1903 and 1910, four companies made up of 16 plants inaugurated welfare schemes headed by paid leaders. These workers taught many sorts of classes, directed play and recreation, organized clubs for various community purposes, and did anything for the welfare of the village and any individual in it which opportunity offered and his or her own imagination prompted. Except for these large groups of operatives this type of welfare work was still dependent on the personal activities of the owner and his family, or on the interest of other volunteers. One new source of volunteer workers comes plainly to the front in this period—persons with a missionary spirit from the adjoining town. It seemed as though the town, although intensely proud of the mill, had just begun to think a little of the operatives. There are instances of mission chapels and Sunday schools started by the town church; of Moonlight Schools taught by the town teachers; of clubs of women and girls led by members of mission groups, King's Daughters and the like. While there are not a great many of any one type, together they form a striking evidence of the newly awakened interest of the town people in uplifting the cotton mill folks. Perhaps this new interest bears some relation to the rapid increase in welfare work by the mills in the next few years.

Health programs were started in some 15 plants; group insurance in 8 plants. Aid to the churches remained about the

<sup>7</sup> Of the 151 plants covered by this study which were built during this period 60 were inside incorporated towns, 55 suburban to incorporated towns, leaving 26 somewhat isolated.

same. Assistance to ball teams was not far behind. Company stores commenced going out of fashion in this period, and toward the latter part of it were becoming rapidly fewer in number. They were less necessary because of nearness to towns, better roads, and the willingness of small shopkeepers to venture into the village trade. They were growing in unpopularity on account of the feeling that they over-charged or exercised too much control over a man indebted to them. The tendency was for the company store to be left with the poorest paying villagers as its customers; relief work done through the store tended to make its financial showing even worse. For all these reasons the company store was gradually abandoned or converted into a separate company with no direct relation to the mill. This is one of the more striking cases of the abandonment of schemes that would not work. Less important examples were occurring continually in individual plants. In this respect, at least, the mill shows a flexibility rather surprising in an industry so dominated by tradition.

The history of welfare work of the last period, from 1917 to 1918 to the present, is for many reasons the most complex of all, partly because extreme changes occurred so rapidly. The unprecedented expansion, tremendous profits, and labor shortage all tended to cause managers to increase their welfare work apace. The depression, appalling in its extremity and persistence, caused many to discontinue it. Disappointment with their experience made it easy for some managers to give it up. At the same time, North Carolina entered a new period of development of public welfare which might be counted upon to do some of the things which the mills had included in their outside activities. It was natural that at least the smaller

plants should avail themselves of these facilities.

Especially did the relation of the mills to the schools change materially in this period. The extension of town and city limits was very general and usually involved the suburban mills, thus bringing many villages into city school systems. The movement for the consolidation of schools brought additional villages that were beyond the reach of the town limits into the town school district. In many cases there was only one school in the town; in some larger towns the mill children used a primary school serving their part of the town and later went to a centralized high school; in others only the primary school was located in the mill neighborhood.<sup>8</sup> Still other villages became parts of rural special tax consolidated schools.<sup>9</sup> In all these cases the direct aid of the mill ceased. The people of 44 of the mills covered by the study were, in 1926, still served by county schools, 28 of which had their terms supplemented by the mill, leaving 16 with the six months' county term. In the larger villages and especially those near the larger towns where several primary schools are necessary the younger children are still in schools where they associate only with mill children. The mill owners, as leading citizens of the community, are very frequently on school boards.

The night school has seen its most vigorous development in these years. This has been largely connected with the vocational education work of the Federal and State Governments under the Smith-Hughes Act. It is a public function, fostered and supervised by public agents and paid for mostly out of public funds. The fourth of the teacher's salary which

<sup>8</sup> Of the 322 mills 207 were served by schools which were parts of town systems.

<sup>9</sup> There were 71 mills thus served.



the act requires shall be paid from some local source is usually paid by the mill. Usually also it is some member of the managerial group who secures the co-operation of the Vocational Education Bureau; if he does not take the initiative, the Bureau agent seeks through the management to get the class started. In 1925-6 there were 109 such classes serving 71 mills of which 64 are included in this study. Under the impetus of the enthusiasm for vocational classes there are more classes in reading and writing than in all the previous history of the mills in North Carolina.

The inauguration of welfare programs headed by paid workers among plants included in this study increased from the four companies made up of 16 plants in 1914 to 40 companies comprising 80 plants and employing roughly 20,000 workers. There were in all 48 community houses built, ranging in cost from 15 that cost around \$6,000 to six that cost over \$40,000. At the time of this survey 88 plants making up 29 units for welfare programs had some sort of paid leader. Several of these were primarily health workers. These years of experience seem to have proved rather conclusively that the small mill, one with less than 300 workers, and usually below 500, cannot carry on community work of this kind very effectively, nor can it afford it. In some of the villages, sometimes one, sometimes another of the activities formerly carried on by a paid community worker is now led by the county home demonstration agent.

More frequent instances are to be found of city and county nurses doing work in the mill villages for which the mill had a nurse during the good times. In fact the health work in the mills, beyond village sanitation and house inspection which has always been done, was really a sort of by-product of the general impetus given by

the Red Cross and other public and semi-public agencies in the last decade. Only six or seven companies have elaborate health programs of their own, though in simple form and in coöperation with agencies in the general community it is one of the commonest of the outside activities in the village.

Group insurance increased rapidly under the claim that it would reduce labor turnover. Some mills dropped it before others started it. In all, 92 plants included in this study with 22,000 workers have, or have had, group insurance. Fifty-two plants with 10,500 workers had it in force at the time of the interview.

There was a general increase in all sorts of minor activities. Athletics other than baseball were attempted but with little success except where a Y. M. C. A. or fairly elaborate welfare scheme helped to keep them going. Some 36 plants tried special schemes for encouraging gardens. A few tried saving plans, dairies, ice plants, cafeterias, playgrounds, company boarding houses, company papers, and so on *ad infinitum*. These were widely scattered and frequently were carried on by companies already counted in the number with general community work programs.

The policy of aiding churches remained about the same as in previous periods. Occasionally a mill has built a handsome and thoroughly adequate church; usually they have merely met the requests for aid on a fifty-fifty basis. Unlike all other phases of mill life there has been no sign in the churches of a trend toward joining the community about the village.

Housing really began to become welfare work somewhat in a few cases during the years just preceding the war, when companies began to put in water systems: housing was a necessity but such extra expenditures were hardly so.

The addition of such conveniences increased as well as the quality and appearance of the houses. The following are extreme and average types with their relative frequency: ten plants with 665 houses and 1,490 workers had no modern conveniences, not even electric lights; 97 plants with 7,428 houses and 21,037 workers had electric lights, running water with a sink in the kitchen and inside toilets; 15 plants with 1,288 houses and 3,787 workers had lights, kitchen sink, and fully equipped bathroom. Most of these latter were attractive, varied bungalows, averaging five rooms instead of the usual four.

From a study of the history and present status of textile welfare work in North Carolina there emerge four major conclusions. In the first place it is plain that the extent of formal, elaborate welfare work has been greatly exaggerated. The schemes of two or three large companies have been described frequently in many places, until it has become common to refer to these as typical of all mills. The above brief summary shows that this is not the case; the complete study upon which it is based shows it even more conclusively.

In the second place it is plain that the extent of informal, casual, personal welfare work can scarcely be exaggerated. Even in this brief summary one is struck by the many fields of life of both group and individual that are affected. This too is plainer in the complete study. The conversations with the hundreds of persons—mill officials, school authorities, public and semi-public agents and mill employees—held in the process of collecting the data were filled with illustrations of a well-nigh infinite number of small services, interests, interferences if you will, in the life of the workers and their families.

There is no matter so small or so personal that the manager *may* not upon occasion become interested in it; there is no problem so small or so personal that the worker *does* not upon occasion take it to his boss for aid or advice. For some quarter of a million of the people of North Carolina the outside activities of the textile mill have assumed the proportions of a major social institution. This may be philanthropy; it may be paternalism; it may be the much sought after personal touch in industry; it may be unwarranted interference and control. One may hate it or use it, admire it or scorn and despise it, according to his point of view or his experience with it.

This listing of the various attitudes toward welfare work of the mills brings us to our third major conclusion. In the main the opinion of the public surrounding the individual mill and the industry in the State and the South has been one of approval. If the mills have been isolated, often through the very welfare work itself, public opinion has seen nothing in this to be disturbed about; indeed it rather encouraged the process. If there has been paternalism public opinion has considered its manifestations not only to be admired, but nothing less than a proper recognition by the employer of his duty. If there have been opportunities for and even evidences of control, public opinion has held this power to be justly placed and in the main wisely exercised.

A fourth general conclusion may be justified. There seems to be a tendency on the part of mill owners to join with the state and local department of public welfare, public health and public education more and more for the development of their programs. This of course is most significant from all points of view.

## THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held in Memphis, Tennessee, May 2 to 9, 1928. Conference headquarters, registration, information service, exhibits, consultation service and all the general sessions will be held at the Municipal Auditorium. In addition six or eight other meeting rooms are available at the Auditorium for Division and Kindred Group meetings. Several churches within two blocks of the Auditorium will also be used. Hotel headquarters for the Conference are at the Hotel Peabody. The leading hotels are all within ten minutes walk of Headquarters. Reservations are in charge of R. E. Logsdon, Chamber of Commerce, Memphis, Tennessee. For all information write to Howard R. Knight, General Secretary, National Conference of Social Work, 277 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.

President Kingsley prophesies that Memphis will be the best conference of the fifty-five and for the following reasons:

First, because it is last. A fifty-four year momentum ought to help. The Conference has grown by giving out more than it takes in. It is both a reservoir of knowledge and a life current. It widens with every triumph of justice and added grace in human relationships, with every alleviating invention and discovery, with increasing understanding and utilization of spiritual forces. Because it has had a contributing part, all these sources quite naturally swell the parent stream.

Each conference division is in itself no mean mandate. Real admiration is due those who have built into these programs so much of the best experience of the past and potential guidance for the future. Their very excellence and number constitute about the only adverse comment to be made. You would like to hear them all. The busiest and most experienced people have put the best they had into these programs. They are yours for the simple act of coming.

Then there are the kindred groups. You will note their number and the vital interests which they

represent. This work has been going on through the past years, and the various committees have put in a surprising amount of time and telling effort in the preparation of meetings and discussions.

Then we are going South, to the new South. It is the first time in years. We shall be accorded not only their proven hospitality, but their eager desire to have a 1928 discussion of pressing mutual interests and to set the course for work ahead.

A new type of industrial order is coming in the South. There are natural resources, congenial climate, and land enough for the children of workers to get their feet on the grass. There is coming in this great region a day when communities will point with pride not alone to products fashioned from raw material by human hands but to workmen going at night to homes, livable, attractive and with an individuality that will enable them to know they get there without looking at the number.

There will be new angles to old questions, problems of health, of workers in juvenile courts, rural work, of aid to mothers, workmen's compensation, which will take on new interests through the local setting.

Even a superficial look at high spots of things accomplished in the life of the Conference are worth new courage and resolution: an added fifteen years of life expectancy for all, epidemics of typhoid fever assessed as a municipal disgrace and not charged to an All-Wise Providence, diphtheria and scarlet fever robbed of their terrors, the twelve hour day idea blasted, workmen's compensation effective in all but five states of the Union, tuberculosis edged out of position as first assistant to the grim reaper, playgrounds on the map, reformatories regarded as indictments, not ornaments, "Keep Well Babies Well," in short Franklin's sixteen to one idea—getting a chance. Some day we shall spend the pound where the ounce has gone in the past.

Parts of the program are given under Teaching and Research; Community and Neighborhood; Race, Cultural Groups, Social Differentiation; Government, Politics, Citizenship; Social Industrial Relationships. Others follow here:

## GENERAL SESSIONS

*Wednesday, May 2, 8:00 p.m.—Opening Session.*

1. The President's Address.
2. The Social Implications of the Industrial and Economic Changes in the South.



*Thursday, May 3, 8:00 p.m.* The Interpretation of Social Values.

*Friday, May 4, 8:00 p.m.* When Disaster Strikes!

1. Social Problems Arising from Disaster.
2. The Contribution of Social Work in Disaster Relief.

*Saturday, May 5, 8:30 p.m.* Memphis Reception to the Conference.

*Sunday, May 6, 8:00 p.m.* The Importance of the Individual.

*Tuesday, May 8, 8:00 p.m.* The Responsibility of Government for Human Welfare.

*Wednesday, May 9, 1:00 p.m., Luncheon.* The Imperatives of International Relations.

1. Economic Implications.
2. Social Implications.
3. International Mindedness.

(Monday evening, May 7 has been left open in order that important Kindred Groups may arrange general dinner meetings with ample time for programs.)

## CHILDREN

*Albert H. Stoneman, Chairman*

*Section Meeting I.* Children's Institutions.

1. Inside: Fitting the Program to the Type of Children Served.
  - a. Training of Cottage Mothers and Children's Attendants.
  - b. Staff Meetings.
  - c. Personality Development of Children During Stay.
2. Outside: Fitting the Intake Policy to the Needs of the Field and the Work of Other Agencies.
  - a. Assignment of Cases and Control of Types of Children Received.
  - b. Case Work with Families During Care of Children.
  - c. Follow-up of Children After Dismissal.

*Section Meeting II.* (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family.) Rural Case Work.

1. Progress of Undifferentiated Experiments in Various Fields.

*Section Meeting III.* (Joint Session with Division IX—Public Officials and Administration.) State Welfare Departments and Children's Agencies.

1. What Sort of Statistics Should the State Department Ask Private Agencies to Keep? What Should the State Department Do with These Statistics?
2. Opportunities for Developing Better Children's Work Throughout a State. Examples of Activities of Certain State Departments with Favorable Results.

*Section Meeting IV.* (Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene.) Child Guidance Clinics and Child Caring Agencies.

1. The Value of Psychiatric Approach for All Children's Case Workers in the Choice of Method in a Case.
2. At What Time in the Development of Children's Work is a Community Ready for a Child Guidance Clinic?

*Section Meeting V.* Group Discussion I. Institutional Administration. Discussion of Subjects Presented in Section Meeting I.

Group Discussion 2. Illegitimacy. Maternity Homes, Desirables and Undesirable Activities.

Group Discussion 3. Crippled Children From the Standpoint of a Social Case Worker.

Group Discussion 4. Rural Case Work for Children. Is it So Different from Other Case Work? In What More Difficult? Important Elements Involved.

Group Discussion 5. Dealing with the Parent in Delinquency.

1. Parental Education for Detecting Bad Behavior Trends in Children.
2. Treatment of the Parent in Juvenile Court.

## DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTIONS

*George W. Kirchwey, Chairman*

*Section Meeting I.* The Relation of Law to Human Behavior.

1. Law Enforcement vs. Law Observance.
2. The Problem of Law Enforcement in the South.

*Section Meeting II.* The "New Psychology" and the Courts.

1. Juvenile Courts.
2. Courts Dealing with Adult Offenders.

*Section Meeting III.* Group Discussion 1. Institutional Life for Boy Delinquents.

Group Discussion 2. Institutions for Delinquent Women and Girls.

Group Discussion 3. Surveys of Criminal Justice—Their Bearing on the Crime Problem.

Group Discussion 4. Contract Labor in Prisons.

Group Discussion 5. Medical Service in the Prisons.

*Section Meeting IV.* Recent Studies into the Personality of Offenders.

1. The Adult Criminal.
2. The Juvenile Delinquent.

*Section Meeting V.* The Treatment of the Individual Offender.

1. The Role of Psychoanalysis in Diagnosis and Treatment.
2. The Psychologist in the School.

## HEALTH

*Blecker Marquette, chairman*

*Section Meeting I.* (Joint Session with Division XII—Educational Publicity.) The Changing Status of the Causes of Sickness and Death.

1. The Statistical Aspect.
2. The Medical Aspect.
3. The Social Work Aspect.
4. The Publicity Aspect.

*Section Meeting II.* The Physician and Social Work.

1. The Physician's Point of View.
2. The Public Health Worker's Point of View.
3. The Social Worker's Point of View.

*Section Meeting III.* The Health of the Negro.

1. In the Light of Vital Statistics.
2. Some Fundamental Factors.
3. Hospital Medical and Public Health Facilities.
4. Medical Education.
5. Nursing Education.
6. Public Health Education.

*Section Meeting IV.* (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family.) Responsibilities of the Family Social Worker in the Preventive Health Program.

1. Objectives and Methods in the Preventive Health Program.
  - a. Tuberculosis as a Family Problem.
  - b. Family Limitation.

*Section Meeting V.* (Joint Session with Division I—Children.) Maternity and Child Hygiene.

1. Outstanding Features of a Well Considered Program.
2. Its Application in Rural Areas.
3. The Rising Cost of Having Children.

## THE FAMILY

*Dorothy Kahn, Chairman*

*Section Meeting I.* (Joint Session with Division I—Children, and Division VII—Mental Hygiene.) The Effects of Financial Dependency and Relief Giving on Personality and Social Attitudes.

1. Relief Cases of the Family Society.
  - a. Effects on Social Attitudes.
  - b. On Personality and Its Development.
2. In Cases from Child Caring Agencies.
  - a. Institutional Placements.
  - b. Foster Home Placements.

(This program will be continued in Division VII—Mental Hygiene Section Meeting I.)

*Section Meeting II.* What Can We Learn From this Year's Study of Social Work Statistics.

*Section Meeting III.* The Concern of Social Case Work with the Tenant Farmer.

*Section Meeting IV.* Group Discussion I. (Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of

Social Forces.) Use Made of Information in the Social Service Exchange.

Group Discussion 2. Family Insurance. How does It Concern Family Societies?

Group Discussion 3. Is Case Work Affecting Changed Standards in Care of the Aged?

Group Discussion 4. How Can the Rich Material in Our Case Records Be made Available for Study and Use?

Group Discussion 5. To be announced.

*Section Meeting V.* A Study of Family Achievement.

## MENTAL HYGIENE

*Lawson G. Lowrey, Chairman*

*Section Meeting I.* (Joint Session with Division I—Children and Division IV—The Family.)

(This meeting will continue the program of Division IV—The Family, Section Meeting I.)

*Section Meeting II.* Problems of the Home and Family.

1. Mental Hygiene Factors in Parenthood and Parental Relationships.
2. Effects on Child of an Unstable Home.

*Section Meeting III.* The Problems of Institutions and Foster Homes.

1. When Should the Foster Home be Prescribed for the Problem Child?
2. When Should the Institution Be Prescribed for the Problem Child?

*Section Meeting IV.* The Problems of the Community. Management of Non-Institutionalized Feeble-minded and Delinquent.

1. In the Public Schools.
2. In Social Service Supervision.

*Section Meeting V.* (Joint Session with the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.) Mental Hygiene and the Theory and Practice of Case Work.

1. The Essential Similarities in All Fields of Case Work.
2. The Contribution of Mental Hygiene to the Differentiated Fields.

## EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

*Homer W. Borst, Chairman*

*Section Meeting I.* Integrity in Social Work Publicity. A Platform of Facts. A Platform of Ethics.

*Section Meeting II.* Social Work as Literary Material.

*Section Meeting III.* Meeting the Public Mind. A Chautauqua Lecture on Social Work.

*Section Meeting IV.* Where the Publicity Worker Gets His Point of View and Technique.

*Section Meeting V.* Making Human Geography Talk. The Use of Demographic Areas in Publicity.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, 403 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

### THE BASE MAP AS A DEVICE FOR COMMUNITY STUDY

EARLE EDWARD EUBANK

TWO sociological movements coming from somewhat different angles are converging in a reinforced emphasis upon the community.

The older of these, "the Community Movement," has for a number of years been consciously extending itself in various ways. The community play and recreation movement is one of its manifestations; the social centre development, increasingly correlated with the public schools, is another; the vogue of the social survey, and other forms of community study, is still another. Correspondingly there have arisen various organizations, such as Community Service, the Community Chest, the Community Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A., and the Community Center Association, each having as its purpose the more effective utilization of community powers and resources. All of these are evidence of the discovery of the community and a new recognition of its importance.

The more recent development is the "ecological" approach, which McKenzie, Park and others are now developing; human ecology being defined by McKenzie as "a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by

the distributive, selective and accommodative forces of the environment."<sup>1</sup>

These two have much in common; especially their emphasis upon the "natural area" of influence and determination, and their common recognition of the necessity for more definite, detailed and objective knowledge of such areas.

Many forms and methods for community study have been devised. The social survey of the older type of fact-gathering has had a long and useful career. The "neighborhood" and other studies of the University of Chicago and Y. M. C. A. College type are of great importance. Bogardus' inquiries built up around the central concept of Social Distance is still another valuable development.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the Base Map as a device for community study, as we have employed it in Cincinnati. There is little in it that is not already quite familiar. We make for it no claim of originality. It is almost elementary in its plan of operation. But we have discovered in its very simplicity

<sup>1</sup> See Park, Burgess, et al., *The City*, Chap. III entitled "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community."



and adaptability certain homely virtues which are important enough to merit re-emphasizing, for the sake of encouraging its wider use.

What is the Base Map? It is a cross-section of a given region, giving a snapshot of some particular set of facts within that area. It is intended to show graphically the geographical distribution and relationship of these facts. It is basal in two senses: first, in that it is concerned with data that is so fundamental to the area plotted that a real sociological understanding of that area would be impossible without it; and second, in that when the map is completed it constitutes a part of a foundation for further studies or programs within that territory.

In laying out a plan of study for any community it becomes apparent that there is certain basic information which will be called for time and again in connection with various studies. Some method of getting this foundation data into graphic and easily available form is needed. In Cincinnati the base map was called into action to provide a way of doing this.

Some of the points upon which we wished ready reference information were the following:

1. The Distribution of Churches, according to their geographic location and sectarian classification.
2. The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquents, according to their residence, sex, and type of offense.
3. The Distribution of Commercialized Recreations, according to their location, type and size.
4. The Distribution of Hotels and Lodging Houses, according to location, price, and type; and the defining of rooming house and transient population areas.
5. The Distribution of Families Aided by Relief Societies according to residence, and type of aid received.
6. The Distribution of Schools and Educational Institutions according to location, type, purpose, and control.

7. The Distribution of Social Organizations and Welfare Institutions (excluding churches and schools) by location and type.
8. The Distribution of Racial Population Areas, and location of racial activity centers.
9. The Distribution of Population to reveal degree of density.
10. The Distribution and Location of various functional areas: Retail, Wholesale, Manufacturing, Residential, etc.
11. The Outlining of Primary and Secondary Routes of Transportation and Communication (a matter of especial significance in Cincinnati on account of its topography).
12. The Territorial Boundaries of "natural" areas.

Of these twelve, seven have been completed, and others are now in process. Others will be added as need arises.

The procedure in the making of these maps is so simple that no especial technical skill is required. And the general plan of organization of materials is such that any reasonably competent student may work it out under a minimum of direction. The chief points upon which care is required are in obtaining accurate information from authoritative sources, and the exercise of patience and exactness in the plotting of the data.

Ordinarily a bound index accompanies each map to give further information supplementary to the map itself.

Now a word as to the advantages of the Base Map idea:

First, as to their *utility*. Such maps, when accurately constructed, do indeed contribute very definitely to the visualization of the territory studied. They are practical aids to locating and defining problems and analyzing communities, and assisting to programs of action. Examples are hardly necessary. With a little study the unchurched, the underchurched, and the overchurched regions become apparent. Similarly, the character of any vicinity is indicated by the presence or absence of rooming houses, and of com-

mercialized amusements. Dependency and delinquency at once are seen to show a tragic and inevitable ratio to the economic life of their neighborhoods. That the practical value of the maps is recognized is shown by the requests we have received for copies, from the Federation of Churches from the Juvenile Court, and a number of other organizations, before whom the maps have been exhibited at their request.

We have recently received an inquiry from one of the national recreational organizations, as to whether the maps enable us to state definitely the effect of a playground upon a given neighborhood. We do not as yet have the data to answer this question; but there is no doubt that after a number of chartings are complete, a careful correlation of their data will go far toward the answering of many questions now unknown of which the one given is a sample.

The greatest value of these maps will come from their correlation; for each map is supplementary to all the others. The intrinsic value of each is enhanced as it is considered in relation to the data supplied by the others. When all have been correlated we shall have the following graphically depicted information which should go far toward defining the character of a given neighborhood:

1. The nature of its population, according to race, color and density, with some light as to its degree of isolation.
2. Its economic standards as revealed in home ownership, degree of dependency and types of local institutions.
3. Its degree of conformity or lack of conformity to community regulations as revealed in their delinquency ratio.
4. The character of its leisure time utilization as indicated by the commercialized and uncommercialized leisure time facilities.
5. Certain important "ecological" data concerning neighborhood type, transportation, etc.

All of which has the added value of being readily comparable with other neighborhoods if desired.

A further part of the plan is to have new maps made covering the same information at regular intervals—perhaps five years apart. When this is done we shall have a collection of material which will be worthwhile as revelatory of dynamic trends and movements as well as of static cross sections. These should show the gradual transitions of residential to rooming house and business neighborhoods, the shifts in population, etc.

A second advantage of these maps is that they afford a simple and inexpensive method of getting at data. Few of us have resources of finance or personnel to undertake a thoroughgoing social survey. Discouraged because of the impracticability of making the larger study our departments of Sociology frequently do nothing in the way of community studies. But this plan provides a feasible way of utilizing the limited resources and times which we, or our students, have. Each map is worthwhile in itself; and by adding to our collection as we are able, we eventually have a considerable amount of available ecological material.

In this connection I would emphasize again the use of students. Dependable undergraduates can be used as well as graduates, and their response is almost invariably enthusiastic. If one map is too large an order for one student, two or three may work together.

The educational value to those who participate is very real. It enables them to see the practical connection between their college work, and the actual world outside, and it frequently awakens a scientific interest in the real life of human beings. It helps to make sociology a living study. I recall the tone of pleased surprise with

which a student recently announced finding something in her own experience which actually tallied with some principle she had found in her class reading.

That the preparation of such maps involves a worth-while coöperation between university and various social organizations goes without saying. It helps to break down the barriers which too frequently intervene between academic halls and the "practical" outside world—and the genuine contribution thus made by each is reciprocally appreciated.

A word, however, as to the limitations

of the Base Map. Let us not claim more for it than it warrants. It is not automatically interpretive and it is easy to over-interpret it. Its findings must be considered in relation to other factors which do not appear on its face, and in the absence of those other factors conclusions must be cautiously made. Furthermore, by its very nature a map is confined to objective data. It cannot in itself reveal attitudes, prejudices, interactions, though it will make contributions essential to an understanding of them.

## LEADERS IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

ELIZABETH R. HOOKER

"THE key to this situation is adequate leadership." This is the motif of a swelling chorus sung in perfect harmony by rural social psychologists and social workers, ministers and educators, sociologists and Kiwanians, reformers and politicians, and all others interested in rural social progress. "Adequate" leadership, be it understood, is that sort of leadership that will put over in a community the particular program that some member of the chorus happens to cherish. To produce this leadership, it is agreed, there must be "training"; and so by many agencies, from the country Sunday school to the college of agriculture, processes designed to train to-be or would-be leaders, volunteer and professional, are energetically promoted through conferences, classes and courses.

But this noisy accord and these seemingly parallel activities disguise a great deal of disagreement and much indefiniteness of thinking. The word *leader* has radically different meanings, all more or less vague, for the politician, the Y. M.

C. A. county secretary, the superintendent of rural churches, and the director of university extension. Fully as great variety and uncertainty exist regarding the functions of leaders, the qualities essential or desirable in them, their motives and rewards, the conditions favorable to their development, and the technique of leadership. Everybody desires to be moving in this matter; but all show almost as much uncertainty as the bandar-log regarding the destination and the route.

In connection with a study of American agricultural villages made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research under the direction of Edmund de S. Brunner,<sup>1</sup> it was decided in a spirit of adventure to attempt to find out who were the resident community leaders in each place visited, and to record certain facts about them. The field workers, a team of two of whom averaged two weeks in each village, were

<sup>1</sup> See Fry, *American Villagers*; Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages*; and Brunner, *Village Communities*.



instructed to ask persons interviewed to name the community leaders, that is, the persons through whose initiative new ventures were set on foot, and whose continued backing was essential to the success of any common enterprise. It was found that it was comparatively easy to arrive at a consensus of opinion, which was checked by the field workers' findings. The writer believes that with one kind of exception to be mentioned later, the real leaders were discovered. If in any case they were not, at least the persons listed were the men and women that the rest of the community considered their leaders.

About each of these leaders the field workers collected the following data: name, occupation, approximate age, nationality, time in the community, and church connection. On these points reliable information was easily secured. It was a simple matter, for instance, to learn that Mr. A. was a banker, Mr. B. a Scotchman, and Mrs. C. a Methodist. It was even possible to ascertain the ages of the women leaders; for their neighbors, who in many cases had been their schoolmates, willingly and readily figured them out. These matters are of course superficial; but several facts combined to give the findings, such as they are, a certain validity. They are based on information about 1,370 leaders, a number it would be hard for a private student to duplicate. The environment of these leaders is a definite kind of community, that of the agricultural village of from 500 to 2,500 inhabitants. The villages, which numbered 140, were distributed in all sections of the United States, and included within the population limits adopted, both small, medium, and large villages. The persons named in the lists were leaders in a definite sense: they were those residents in village communities that exerted a locally recog-

nized influence on community activities through personal relations with their fellow townsmen. The data concern concrete matters, and matters on which precise information could be obtained. These data, moreover, concern choices, the study of which, as was said by LeRoy E. Bowman in an article in the March, 1927 number of the *Journal of Applied Sociology*,<sup>2</sup> "leads to more certain results" than some other forms of investigation. That is, the findings show in what proportion of cases the people of these village communities chose male leaders, young leaders, business-men leaders, and so on. Simple as are the facts here offered, therefore, they are believed to be not without value.

#### NUMBER OF LEADERS

The persons called leaders in the 140 villages studied numbered 1,370. The number in a village varied greatly, ranging from three to twenty-one. The average number increased with the village population, but not in the same proportion. The average population of the large villages with from 1,750 to 2,500 people was three times the average population of the small villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants; the average number of leaders was only about one-fourth higher, being eleven as against about nine. The relative increase in population and in the number of leaders is shown graphically in Chart I.

Why were there fewer leaders in proportion to population in the large villages than in the small ones? Does the explanation lie in similarity of opportunities or in difference of psychology?

The number of leaders per 1,000 villages was 12.5 for small villages, 7.5 for medium villages, and 5.0 for large villages. The

<sup>2</sup> See p. 317.

decline of the ratios with increasing population appears in Chart II.

The same tendency appeared in the villages of all four regions, as is shown in Chart III.

accident. Double sixes are not likely to be thrown four times running unless the dice are loaded.

The tendency for the number of leaders per 1,000 villagers to vary inversely with

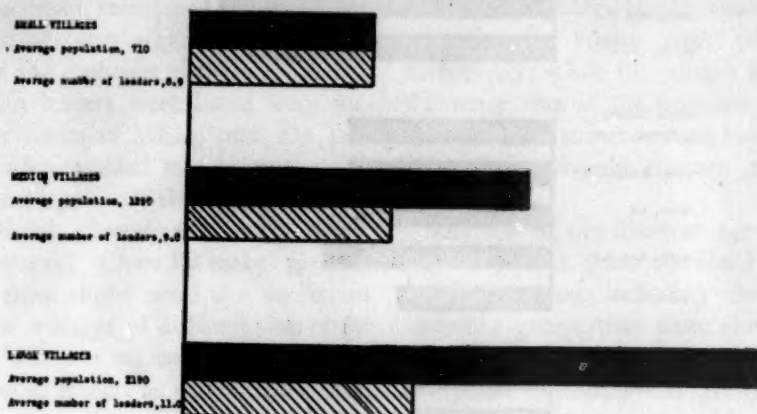


CHART I. AVERAGE VILLAGE POPULATION AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF LEADERS FOR SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE VILLAGES

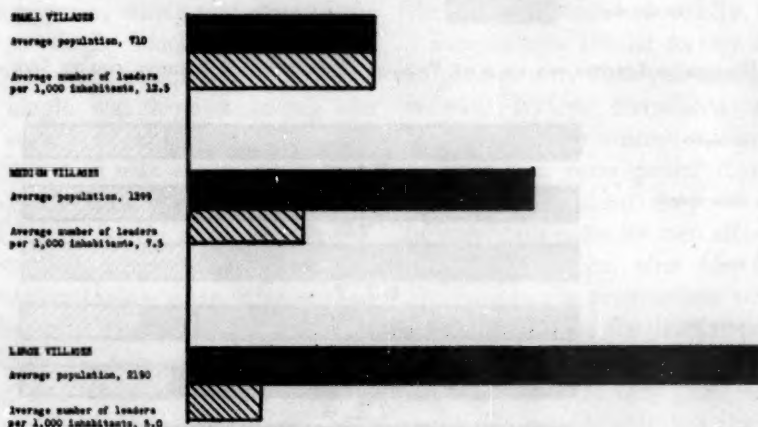


CHART II. AVERAGE VILLAGE POPULATION AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF LEADERS PER 1,000 OF VILLAGE POPULATION, FOR SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE VILLAGES

The consistent variation from area to area of the ratios between the number of leaders and thousands of village population would seem to indicate that the distribution of leaders is not a matter of

the village population was found to prevail also as between villages with a population of less than 750 and those with a population of 750 to 1,000. The twenty-two larger small villages had an average

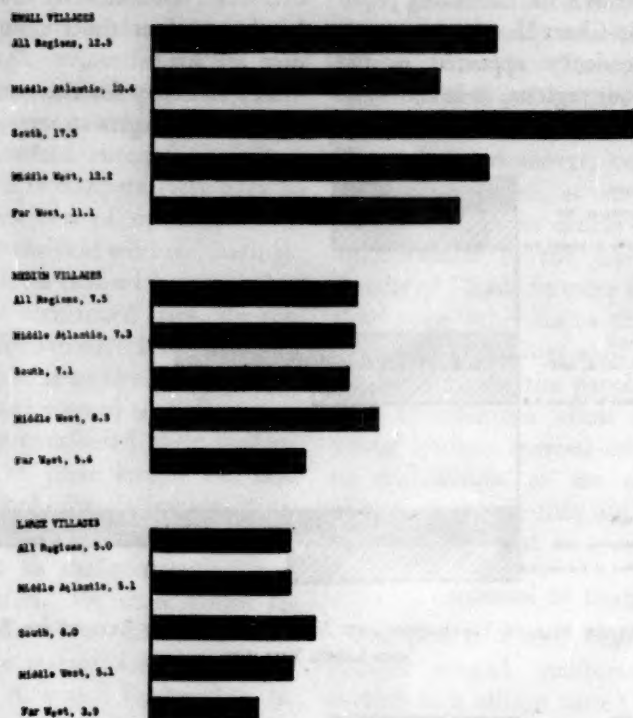


CHART III. NUMBER OF LEADERS PER 1,000 OF VILLAGE POPULATION, BY REGIONS AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

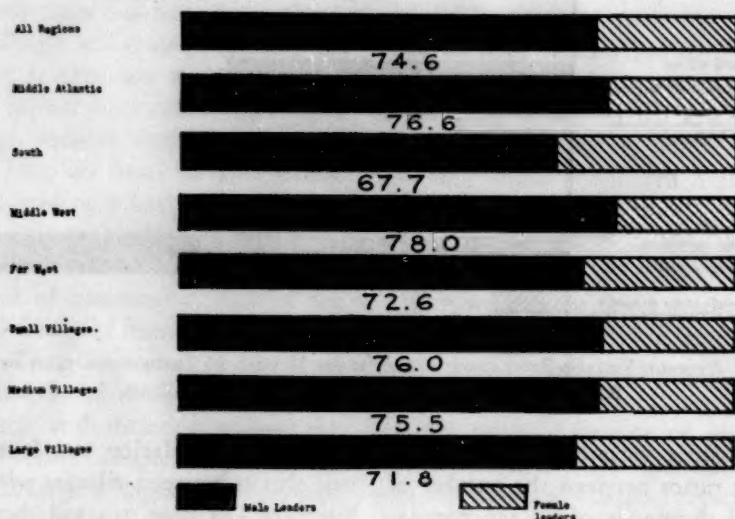


CHART IV. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LEADERS ACCORDING TO SEX, BY REGIONS AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE



of 11.4 leaders per 1,000 villagers, and the twenty-five smaller ones had an average of 14.0 leaders.

#### SEX OF LEADERS

Women were mentioned as leaders in seven out of every eight villages; but as eleven of the eighteen villages for which no women leaders were listed were surveyed by teams of young men, the proportion with women leaders may easily have been larger. Of the total number of leaders listed, three-fourths, or 74.6 per cent, were men. Chart IV makes plain to the eye how slight were the variations either for villages of different sizes or for those in different regions from the ratio of three male leaders to one female leader.

#### MARITAL CONDITION OF WOMEN LEADERS

For the 140 villages in general the proportion of women leaders that were single was 18.2 per cent, which was close to the proportion single among women over twenty-one in the population. The proportion single was highest among the women leaders of the Middle Atlantic villages, where it was about one in four. In the Middle West it was about one in five, and in the South, about one in six. In the far West, where the proportion of village women single was much lower than in the other areas, the proportion of women leaders single was only one in twenty.

Among the married women leaders, between one-fifth and one-fourth, 22.0 per cent, were the wives of men leaders. The proportion was highest in the far-western villages, where it was about one in three; and was lowest in the Middle West, where it was about one in seven.

#### DISTRIBUTION AMONG AGE GROUPS

Just about five-sixths, 82.7 per cent, of the 1370 leaders were between the ages of thirty-four and sixty-five. The number

of leaders younger than thirty-five, namely 106, was almost precisely the same as the number of those sixty-five or over, that is, 107. Among men leaders, however, the number of older men, ninety-four, was considerably larger than that of exceptionally young men, which was seventy-six; while for women leaders the difference was in the opposite direction, as there were thirty women leaders under thirty-five and only thirteen over sixty-five.

The size of the five-year age-groups of leaders of both sexes combined increased rapidly to and including the forty to forty-five group, then more slowly up to the fifty to fifty-five group, which formed the peak. Between this group and the next there was a considerable drop; but very little change was observable between that group and the one next succeeding, sixty to sixty-five. After that the size of the groups diminished rapidly.

Progressions similar to this for leaders in general were observed among men and women leaders considered separately. But the peak for women was at forty-five to fifty, five years earlier than that for men; and a sudden drop of more than fifty per cent came for men after sixty-five years, for women, after fifty-five years. For regions the progressions were closely similar to those for leaders in general.

In every region practically half of the men leaders were fifty years or more of age. But considerably less than half the women leaders had reached fifty, the general proportion being 37.1 per cent, and the proportions for areas ranging from 48.2 per cent for the Middle Atlantic region to only 26.5 per cent for the South. Moreover, about one-fifth, 20.8 per cent, of the men leaders were over sixty, but only about one-tenth, 10.5 per cent, of the women leaders; and while 3.7 per cent of the men leaders were over seventy, among

the women there were only two, or less than one per cent. Several facts thus combine to show that more men leaders than women leaders had passed middle life.

This contrast raises two interesting queries. First, is the relative scarcity of

because leadership by women developed there still later than in the other regions?

#### BIRTHPLACE OF LEADERS

Nearly two-fifths, 39.2 per cent, of the leaders were born in the community where they exercised their influence.

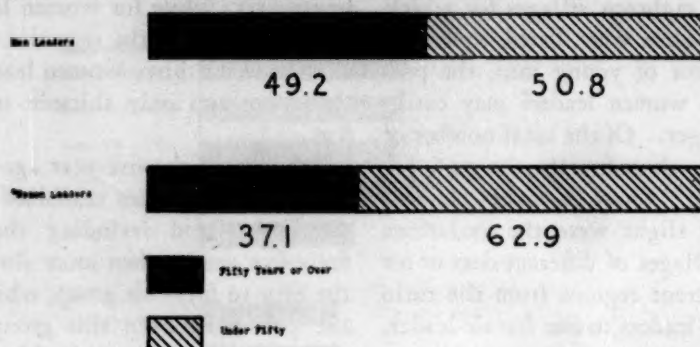


CHART V. PROPORTION OF MEN AND OF WOMEN LEADERS OVER AND UNDER FIFTY YEARS OF AGE

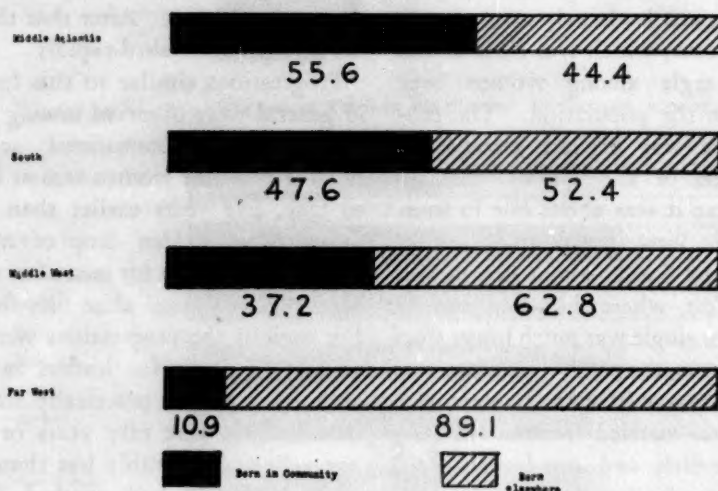


CHART VI. PROPORTION OF LEADERS BORN IN COMMUNITY AND BORN ELSEWHERE, BY REGIONS

women leaders of the more advanced age-groups partially explainable by the theory that leadership by women has practically emerged during the maturity of the older women now living in the villages? Secondly, are older women leaders even less numerous in the South than elsewhere,

The proportion was highest, 55.6 per cent, in the Middle Atlantic region, the earliest settled. In the South it was 47.6 per cent, and in the Middle West, 37.2 per cent. It was lowest in the most recently developed region, the far West, where it was only 10.9 per cent. The proportions

for the different areas are shown in Chart VI.

Of the leaders under thirty-five years of age, only about one-third were born in the community. Again, of the leaders born in the community only 6.5 per cent were under thirty-five years of age; while of those coming from elsewhere, 9.8 per cent were under thirty-five. For small villages the proportion of leaders that were under thirty-five was more than twice as high among leaders from elsewhere as it

leaders, 45.5 per cent as against 33.3 per cent. The proportion that had been in the community less than ten years was 30.5 per cent. Those resident less than five years formed one-sixth, 16.8 per cent, of leaders from elsewhere, and less than one-tenth, 9.3 per cent, of the total number of leaders.

#### OCCUPATIONS OF MEN LEADERS

Very large and closely similar proportions of the male leaders were employed

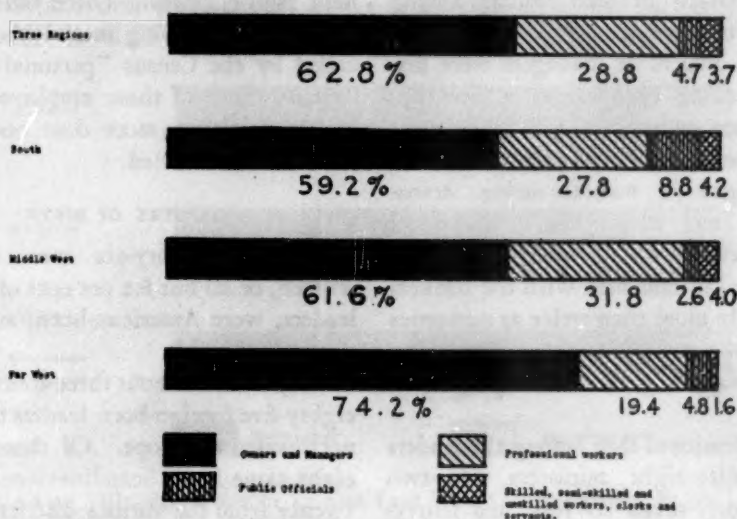


CHART VII. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED MALE LEADERS AMONG SOCIAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR THREE REGIONS

was among those native to the community. Birth in the community evidently did not conduce to leadership during youth.

Of the 761 leaders not born in the community, one-third, 33.4 per cent, had been in the community twenty-five years or more, the proportions for the two sexes being nearly equal. A slightly higher proportion, 36.1 per cent, had been in residence from ten to twenty-five years. This group was considerably higher among the women leaders than among the men

in the three regions for which the information was obtained: in the South, 97.3 per cent; in the Middle West, 96.5 per cent; in the far West, 97.6 per cent. Plainly these leaders did not belong to a leisure class. Of the 806 male leaders engaged in gainful occupations, far the largest proportion, 62.8 per cent, belonged to the owner and manager occupational group. The next largest group consisted of professional workers, who for the villages in general formed 28.8 per cent of the male leaders employed. The proportion formed



by professional men was highest in the Middle West, where it was 31.8 per cent; and was lowest, 19.4 per cent, in the far West, where leaders that were owners or managers were relatively the most numerous. Men leaders holding public office numbered fifty-three, and formed 4.7 per cent of the employed men leaders. Clerks, skilled and semi-skilled workmen and unskilled laborers all taken together, formed only 3.7 per cent; and no servants were listed as leaders. Chart VII presents the distribution of men leaders among groups of occupations.

The 506 owners or managers were distributed among occupations as follows: business men or bankers, 318, or 62.9 per cent; farmers, 155 or 30.6 per cent; and men engaged in manufacturing, transportation, and extraction of minerals, taken together, thirty-three, or 6.5 per cent. The business men with the bankers were plainly more than twice as numerous as the farmers. But the comparative numbers varied greatly from region to region.

The professional men among the leaders included fifty-eight ministers, fifty-two doctors, forty-seven lawyers, and thirty-seven teachers. In proportion to their numbers the professional men contributed more leaders than any other group. Comparison of the total number of leaders representing each profession in the villages with the number of leaders from that profession, showed that 13.1 per cent of the ministers were leaders, as were 12.1 per cent of the doctors, 12.7 per cent of the lawyers, and 10.6 per cent of the men teachers. These leaders among professional men proved to have lived in the community for shorter periods, on the whole, than leaders from other occupations; so that they presumably attained a position of influence more quickly.

#### OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN LEADERS

Of the 348 women leaders, sixty, or slightly over one-sixth, were gainfully employed. Thirty, just half of them, were teachers, supervisors, or school superintendents; seven were librarians; three, nurses; one, an editor; and one, a county demonstration agent; so that two-thirds of the number were professional workers. Twelve were in business, nine being owners or managers. Five held public offices. Three ran boarding houses, thus coming in the classification called by the Census "personal service." Twenty-three of these employed women leaders—that is, more than one-third of them—were married.

#### COUNTRY OF BIRTH

All but seventy-six men and nine women, or all but 6.2 per cent of the 1,370 leaders, were American-born; and all but one were white.

Sixty-two, or about three-fourths, of the eighty-five foreign-born leaders came from northwestern Europe. Of these, twenty-eight came from Scandinavian countries; twenty from the various districts of Great Britain, nine being from Scotland; twelve were born in Germany; and two, in Holland. Fourteen foreign-born leaders came from other European countries. Seven were from Canada, and two from Armenia.

The foreign-born leaders were found in forty-one of the 140 village communities. For twenty-two of these villages the Census enumerated 100 or more of foreign-born population; and at least seventeen had foreign-born residents of the same race as one or more foreign-born leaders. In some situations, then, the foreign-born leader was associated with compatriots. This was especially true in a few villages

where the population was largely of foreign race or foreign stock. But only twelve of the eighty-five foreign-born leaders were influential among their compatriots only. Some had influence both among a racial group and among native Americans, one such being called by a field worker a "racial bridge."

On the other hand, twenty-five communities that had in the village, according to the Census, 100 or more foreign-born inhabitants, had nevertheless no foreign-born leaders; and over three-tenths, 31.6 per cent, of the total foreign-born village

foreign-born leaders had been in the community but 7.1 years.

## FAITHS

About five-sixths of the 1,370 rural leaders, that is, 84.7 per cent or 1,160 leaders, were ascertained to be church-members. The proportion was 10.5 points higher among women leaders than among men leaders, 92.5 per cent as against 82.0 per cent. The difference is plain in Chart VIII. Among regions, the South had the highest proportion of church-members, 92.7 per cent. Even in the far West, where the

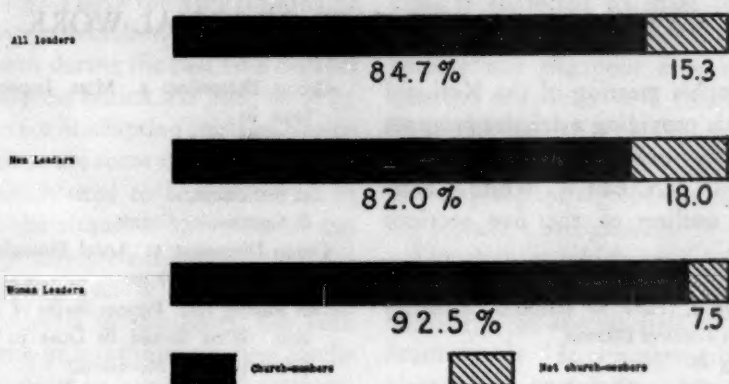


CHART VIII. PROPORTION OF LEADERS THAT WERE CHURCH-MEMBERS, BY SEX

population of the 140 villages were in villages for which no foreign-born leader was listed. Moreover, twenty-eight foreign-born leaders, one-third of the total number, were in communities that did not have a group of foreign-born of the same race. Not a few foreign-born leaders, therefore, were influential among native-born Americans.

The average number of years that seventy-four foreign-born leaders had been in the community was 20.3 years. For the thirty-one in trade the average number of years was 25.8. For those in professions it was less, being only 8.7 years; and the average minister among these

proportion was the lowest, it was about seven in ten.

The leaders that did not belong to any church numbered 184 and formed 13.5 per cent, or about one-eighth, of the total number. For a small percentage the situation was uncertain.

Out of the 1,160 church-members, 1,095, or 94.3 per cent, were Protestants. Sixty-five, or 5.7 per cent, were non-Protestants, fifty-five or 4.8 per cent being Roman Catholic.

For every 1,000 members of the local churches in the 140 village communities, there were 7.8 leaders. To this general average the figures for regions were closely

similar. The average for all Protestant denominations was 8.3 leaders to every 1,000 members of all the Protestant churches in the 140 communities. Among regions, the South had the lowest proportion, 7.5 per cent; and the Middle Atlantic the highest, 9.1 per cent.

These, then, are the findings of this exploration into a little known field. Every item bristles with further questions; and the many important problems connected with leadership have not even been approached. But one thing is clear:

the fact that on every point covered common tendencies were evident for the villages of all four regions, proves conclusively that leadership falls within the domain of natural law. This inquiry, therefore, superficial as it is, should afford to students of social phenomena a strong incentive toward profound and extended investigations in this field. For through such research they may discover how rural leaders may be fostered—a matter vital to the progress of civilization.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The Memphis meeting of the National Conference is providing a definite program on *Neighborhood and Community Life* (Division VI) with Mrs. Eva W. White, Chairman. An outline of the five sections follows:

*Section Meeting I.* How to Maintain Community Morale in Times of Disaster.

*Section Meeting II.*

Group Discussion 1. Methods Whereby the Latent Powers of Individuals and Groups Can be Quickened.

Group Discussion 2. Influence of Social Work and Organized Community Life Upon the Family.

Group Discussion 3. Gauging the Interests and Aptitudes of Children.

Group Discussion 4. Most Important Present Issue in

a. Y. W. C. A.

b. Y. M. C. A.

c. Settlement.

d. Community Center.

Group Discussion 5. Local Financial Support of Community Projects.

*Section Meeting III.* Present Status of Adult Education. What Should Be Done to Increase the Growth of the Movement?

*Section Meeting IV.* The Industrial Versus the Agricultural South.

*Section Meeting V.* How Far Are Communities Furnishing Facilities that Meet the Major Interests of Young People?



## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE NEGRO AND THE FARM CRISIS<sup>1</sup>

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

UNDERLYING the very remarkable change which has occurred in the South during the past two decades and the progress which has been made by the Negro race in adapting itself to American conditions are some striking economic changes which need to be understood in order that the situation in the South can be correctly interpreted.

One striking fact is that the much heralded progress in the South has been made in spite of most discouraging conditions in many of its agricultural sections. It has been a spotted progress, a gain of the cities at the expense of the country.

Many of the problems which, in the past, have been considered racial problems are largely economic problems complicated by the fact that they apply to two races in the same area. Negroes often feel that they are subjected to certain conditions because of color, when, as a matter of fact, the condition arises primarily because of their economic status. This applies especially to such situations as the evils attending the farm tenant system and conditions in the courts. Since a white farm tenant class has grown up in the South it has been found that this

class is subjected to most of the same difficulties which confront the Negro tenants and the poor man without influential friends is at a disadvantage in legal proceedings regardless of his color. To understand these problems it is necessary to grasp the significance of the changing economic background.

The changes which are fundamental in the economic life of the Negro manifest themselves in several striking and significant trends. It is noteworthy that the Negro city population has practically doubled in the twenty-five years from 1900-1925. Instead of 2,000,000 Negroes in cities there are now 4,000,000, and these are more and more seeking the large metropolitan industrial centers. This is an urbanization and industrialization of the most modern minded group of people in America and it is attended by many striking consequences.

The changes especially to be noted are the difference in occupations chosen by Negro breadwinners. As late as 1890 88 per cent of all Negroes employed were in agriculture and domestic service, and only 12 per cent in manufactures, trade and professional pursuits. In 1920, however, only 67 per cent were in agriculture and domestic service, and 33 per cent in manufactures, trade and professional serv-

<sup>1</sup> The results of studies made by Dr. Woofor, Mr. Holland, Mr. Eutsler, and Mr. Newcomb will be presented shortly in a volume.

ice. Whereas more than half were engaged in agriculture in 1890, less than one-third were engaged in agriculture in 1920. This shift is of great significance to the Negro in America because up to 1890 agriculture seemed to present his best chances to get ahead in the world. Progress in farming had proceeded in an orderly manner. From a situation in which practically all of them were farm laborers, they had progressed until there was a large number of farm owners and a still larger group of more or less independent tenants. Seemingly the pressure of circumstances is forcing this group to exchange an assured place in agriculture for a doubtful position in the city trades. Along with this shift to city neighborhoods and increasing financial power there has been an amazing development of Negro business.

To analyze with precision the causes and results of such fundamental changes is a task for students of economics and of sociology, especially those in southern universities. This analysis contributes not only to the understanding of the status of the Negro, but also to the change in economic organization of the South.

In the agricultural changes of the South one may read the story of the losing struggle of farmers, both white and colored, in their contest with the weather, with crop pests, with poor production methods, with unsatisfactory marketing facilities, and with other regional difficulties. Progress has been made in combating the boll weevil and in increasing the efficiency of production, yet this progress has not been at a sufficient rate to prevent a very serious agricultural crisis in the Southeast, a depression of farm values, a widespread movement from the farms, and a general agricultural unrest.

The elements in the agricultural situation are: First, the man; second, the land,

and third, the relationship of the man to the land, or the system of land tenure. The 1925 agricultural census shows some startling changes in these three elements in the Southeast, and especially in the four southeastern states which are the heaviest producers of cotton and in which the proportion of Negroes is greatest; namely, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

*The use of the land.* Up to 1910 the work of clearing forests and converting the cleared land into crop land proceeded normally until only 41,000,000 acres were not in farms. That is to say, only 18 per cent of all the land area of the South was not within the boundaries of cultivated farms. Most of this was in the four States, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi. However, about 1910 the boll weevil crossed the Mississippi River and began ravages on the cotton crop. Recently over-production of some grades of tobacco and unsatisfactory market conditions brought about adverse conditions among the tobacco farmers. This has resulted in a reversal of the tendency to include more land in farms. Since 1910 the area in farms has decreased about 15,000,000 acres. It is depressing in the extreme to travel through many sections of the cotton belt where idle land stretches by the roadside for many miles and all houses are vacant showing the desertion of many fertile acres which are growing up in broomsage and brambles. Greene and Morgan and the counties of central Georgia present a particularly deserted appearance. It is possible to ride from one town to another without passing an occupied farm.

Not only has there been a decrease in the amount of land in farms but there has also been a shrinkage in the land which may be classed as improved. This includes the crop land and the plowable

pasture land. Between 1920 and 1925 there was a decrease of 9,000,000 acres of improved land. This is in spite of the fact that 42,000,000 acres of woodland in farms were cleared. These 42,000,000 acres which should have been brought into cultivation have not been tilled and in addition 9,000,000 acres which were tilled in 1910 lie idle. The cutting of this 42,000,000 acres of woods was a testimony of the financial straits of the farmers during the deflation. Wood cutting was resorted to as a last means of raising cash.

The South has depended so largely upon agriculture in the past that this great waste of resources in the land demands the attention of all of those who are interested in southern development. As in other sections of the country, the returns from farming in the South are so much less attractive than those from the city occupations, that the resources in the land are being neglected. The states depending almost entirely upon cotton for their money crop and upon Negro labor to cultivate this cotton have suffered the greatest proportion of this shrinkage. In fact, 14 of the 15 million acres of decrease in land and farms were in these states, and 4 of the 9 million acres shrinkage in improved land were in these states, indicating that dependence upon cotton as a money crop and failure to grow the necessary food for the farm family has played a large part in making the crisis more serious.

A study of the distribution of farms in the Southeast according to the size of the farm emphasizes the fact that the shrinkage in the number of farms has occurred almost entirely through the dropping out of a large number of farms from twenty to one hundred acres in size. These are the sizes which are cultivated largely by tenants. The shrinkage in this group of farms has occurred between 1920 and 1925

as the tendency to subdivide large plantations into smaller tenant cultivated areas continued between 1910 and 1920. However, there was a loss of 96,000 farms in the Southeast between 1920 and 1925. There was a loss of 114,000 farms in the four states, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, but part of this loss was offset by gains in the other states of the Southeast indicating that the areas in which two money crops were cultivated, such as the cotton and tobacco areas of North Carolina and Tennessee, were considerably more prosperous than the areas depending on a single money crop.

Since the crux of the whole situation depends on the diversification of farming and the raising of food and feed crops, at least to the extent of the requirements of the farm families, it is interesting to note the usage of crop land as it is assigned to the various crops. Considerable improvement has been made in the acreage devoted to principle crops in the Southeast. In 1910, 1.8 acres of food and feed stuff were cultivated for every acre in cotton and tobacco; and in 1925 2.4 acres of food stuffs were cultivated for every acre in cotton and tobacco. The situation is not, however, so encouraging in the four extreme southeastern cotton states. In these states only eight-tenths of an acre of food stuff was cultivated for each acre of cotton and tobacco in 1910, and 1.1 acre of food stuff for each acre of cotton and tobacco in 1920.

The increase in this ratio has occurred more because of the reduction in the acreage devoted to the money crops than because of the actual increase in the acreage devoted to food and feed stuffs. The cultivation of white potatoes and peanuts has increased slightly but there has been a marked decrease in the acreage devoted to corn, wheat, hay and sweet potatoes. Here again the striking change was from



1920-1925. From 1910 to 1920 there were substantial increases in the actual acreage devoted to all the principal feed crops. There was, however, a reversal in this trend from 1920-1925, when the acreage in corn decreased by 40,000,000, the acreage in wheat was cut in half, and the acreage in hay decreased by one-half million. To understand this it is necessary to realize that the figures of 1920 represent the artificial conditions created by the war when food administrators dictated the devotion of large acreage to growing food. After this artificial stimulus was removed the farmers wearied in well doing and returned to their efforts to grow money crops in spite of the dangers of the boll weevil and the uncertainties of market prices. It is also interesting to note that thousands of farms had no vegetable garden.

Another striking reversal in progress in the past five years is shown in the decrease in farm animals. Domestic animals contribute as largely to the standard of living of the farm families as do food crops cultivated. However, the prosperous times of 1920 did not enable the farmers to materially increase their stock of domestic animals. The number of farm animals and the number of farms having these animals did increase slightly from 1910 to 1920, but show a most discouraging drop from 1910 to 1925; the number of cattle in the Southeast decreasing by one million and a half, the number of swine by five million and the number of poultry remaining practically stationary. So that in 1925 there were 580,000 farmers in the Southeast who had no cattle; 900,000 farms which had no pigs; and almost 300,000 with not even a chicken.

This in conjunction with the dissipation of woodland is a striking illustration of the fact that the farmers did not reap real benefit from the inflation of 1920. Such

profits as they made were dissipated in the purchase of land at speculative prices, of expensive improvements on buildings, and farm machinery and vehicles; so that when the post war depression came they were still in debt and had to sacrifice many farm animals to help meet their indebtedness.

It goes without saying that tenant farmers are the ones that are most lax in the cultivation of food crops and the breeding of the necessary domestic animals. Particularly the croppers, i.e., those men that work on half shares with the landlord, have very few domestic animals and the colored farmers have proportionately less than the white farmers.

This system of farming which focuses all its attention on the raising of a money crop and neglects those items which are necessary for feeding farm families leaves the farmer in the hands of the credit merchant and the money lender. These men risk a great deal by lending on the uncertainty of a growing crop and they charge high rates of interest. In addition the farmer bears high freight rates on produce shipped from other sections. Such farming is ruinous in the long run, especially when, in periods of depression, it often costs more to grow the crop than the price for which it is sold, and it is always necessary to dispose of the crop at practically a forced sale, when it is harvested, in order to pay off the debts incurred for food stuffs and fertilizer.

It is, however, interesting to note that some effort is being made to meet this situation by radical cuts in the cotton acreage, the four extreme southeastern states having reduced their cotton land by 4,000,000 acres from 1910 to 1925. This indicates that the real over-production of cotton is not occurring in the old cotton belt but has been brought about by the large expansion of the cotton areas in

the Southwest, and the large scale methods of production used principally in Texas.

*The farm population.* There has been an even greater shrinkage in the number of farm operators than there was in the amount of farm land. Here again this loss occurred entirely between 1920 and 1925. The decrease of 96,000 farms during that five year period was almost entirely due to the movement of Negro farmers. The loss among colored farmers was 84,000, the loss among white farmers was 12,000. In each case the loss in the four southeastern cotton states was heavier than that in the whole Southeast and was compensated for by slight gains in the other states in the Southeast.

In one respect this shift of Negroes from cotton farming is beneficial in that it leaves the rural districts of these cotton states with a smaller proportion of colored people. Practically 50 per cent of the farms in the four extreme southeastern states were operated by Negroes in 1910 and only about 45 per cent in 1925. The rural population of an area with a smaller proportion of colored people can handle the situation much better than could be done in such states as Mississippi and South Carolina which contained a majority of Negroes up to 1910. However, it would seem to be much better for agricultural production if this process of increase in the proportion of white farmers came about through the increase in the number of white farmers rather than in a decrease in the number of colored farmers, since there are so many million acres of idle land which need to be made productive. As has been indicated, this shift is of profound importance in the status of the Negro in the South.

On the basis of the change in farm population from 1920 to 1925, it is estimated that there were a million fewer Negroes in agriculture in 1925 than there were in 1910.

This change has been more or less forced on the Negro farmers by the adverse conditions under which they operated. Negro tenants were, more than any other class, required to concentrate on cotton cultivation and even the Negro owners were relatively untrained in any other type of farming than cotton. As a consequence the depression in the cotton industry fell upon them most heavily. They were also at a disadvantage in the community organization of rural life since their schools and churches were much poorer and since in some sections their actual bodily safety was less. This has induced them to move from an agricultural opportunity which up to 1910 seemed to be their best chance for winning an independent position in the development of the South. There is no way to forecast just how far this movement will go or what its ultimate effect will be upon the position of the Negro in the United States.

*Land tenure.* Up to 1910 the colored farmers had made progress not only in the number of farms which they cultivated but also in climbing the tenant ladder from the position of dependent laborer to that of semi-dependent half share tenant, and on to a position of third and fourth share tenant, independent renter of land, and farm owner. The number of owners had increased in 1910 until 219,000 Negroes owned their land. While there were 161,600 Negro owners in the southeast in 1910, this number decreased to 145,900 by 1925, indicating a surprising proportion who are losing heart and moving to the city.

Although the changes in classification in the census make it impossible to show the change in the number of renters except by estimate from 1920 to 1925, it is evident that this class declined in 1910 to 1920 and probably decreased still further by 1925. On the other hand there had been,

throughout the period, an increase in the number of croppers, the half share tenants. In 1920 the pressure in the direction of cropping came from the landlords because during the period of inflation it was to their interest to farm as much as possible on the half-share basis, but from 1920 to 1925 pressure in the direction of cropping came from the tenants because so many failed during the depression and lost their tools and animals that they were obliged to farm under this system which provided that the landlord furnish them with all of their animals and implements and advance the money for the purchase of food and fertilizer.

Thus the depression of the economic disaster in the cotton area has not only occasioned a decrease in the number of Negro farmers but has forced the masses, those remaining on the farm, downward in the scale. Here and there it is possible to find farmers who are making money but the majority have been in serious financial straits. The proportion of Negro croppers to the total number of Negro farmers in the extreme southeastern states increased from 39 per cent in 1920 to 46 per cent in 1925. The actual number of croppers remained about the same but

their proportion rose sharply because of the striking decrease in the higher classes of tenants. Part of this loss in Negro tenant farmers is made up for by the increase of the white tenant classes in the South. This increase in white tenancy is largely in the class of share tenants who furnish their own animals and implements and farm for two-thirds or three-fourths of the crop. The increase in share tenancy, especially in cropping, is very discouraging. The croppers are those who have no tools or animals and who farm chiefly for the money crop, neglecting food and feed crops and the breeding of domestic animals.

On the whole, therefore, the picture shown by the period from 1920 to 1925 presents a discouraging situation in the farming of the Negro and of southern agriculture in general. A post-war deflation and a subsequent calamity of over-production of cotton fell most heavily on the four extreme southeastern cotton states, and especially upon the Negro farmers in those states. The result has been a tremendous loss in agricultural productivity and agricultural labor. This is a phenomenon which needs to be analyzed from many angles.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Division X of the Memphis meeting of the National Conference is devoted to the study of various racial groups and their adjustment to our social and economic life. There are special sections on immigration legislation, Mexicans and Mexican immigration, and the Negro industrialist. Cecilia Razovsky is chairman.

### *Section Meeting I. Immigration Legislation—Past, Present, and Future.*

1. Antecedents of the Present Immigration Law.

2. Pending Legislation.

### *Section Meeting II. Mexicans and Mexican Immigration.*

1. Mexican Labor in the United States. Shall Immigration from Mexico Be Restricted?
2. Our Mexican Residents as Future Americans.
3. Latin American Culture.

### *Section Meeting III. Group Discussion. How to Educate for Social Harmony in Communities Having Diverse Racial and National Groups.*

### *Section Meeting IV. (Joint Session with Division IX—Public Officials and Administration.) The Negro Industrialist.*



1. The Effect of Changed Economic Conditions upon the Living Standards of Negroes.
- Section Meeting V. (Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems.)* The Effect of Recent Restrictive Immigration Upon Industry and Wage Earners of America.

Section III under Division III is also valuable in this connection. It is a

consideration of the health problems of the Negro from six angles:

1. In the Light of Vital Statistics
2. Some Fundamental Factors
3. Hospital Medical and Public Health Facilities
4. Medical Education
5. Nursing Education
6. Public Health Education

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The first world conference of social workers to be held in Paris, France, July 2 to 13, 1928, under the patronage of the President of France, will have four main divisions. The coöperating groups will be the International Congress for Child Welfare, International Housing and Town Planning Congress, International Congress of Public and Private Welfare, together with the International Conference of Social Work. The American official representatives are:

JOHN A. LAPP, Chicago, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference

SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY, Philadelphia, president of the National Conference of Social Work

BARRY C. SMITH, New York, director-general of the Commonwealth Fund

MARY VAN KLEECK, New York, director of the department of industrial studies, Russell Sage Foundation

MRS. J. M. GLENN, New York, president of the American Society for Organizing Family Social Work

The meetings of the International Conference of Social Work will be held in the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers, July 8 to 13. The Conservatoire will be also the headquarters of the International Congress for Child Welfare and the International Congress for Public and Private Welfare which precede the International Conference of Social Work. The International Housing Congress will be held at the Sorbonne. These Congresses together with the International Conference of Social Work constitute the International Social Welfare Fortnight running from July 2 to July 13.

Delegates from the United States will also have an opportunity to attend the International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relationships and Conditions in Industry which holds its first triennial congress at Girton College, Cambridge, England, from June 28 to July 3.

Any one from the United States interested in social work who happens to be in Paris at the time of the International Conference will be welcomed at all of the plenary or general sessions. Information concerning the program, organization of the International Conference, and suggestions for travel and the like are available at the office of the National Conference of Social Work, 277 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio, and will be sent upon request,

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### DEFINING PUBLIC WELFARE AS A FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA

ARTHUR W. JAMES

THE General Assembly of Virginia, the oldest lawmaking body in America, dating back to the first assembly of the House of Burgesses in 1619, received at its session in 1924 a recommendation from the Governor that it provide for a survey of the government by an expert commission or agency. The occasion was little short of epochal in the legislative history of the Commonwealth. The Assembly was sitting in the classical capitol built by Jefferson, which had witnessed the trial of Aaron Burr, the secession of Virginia from the Union, and served as the Capitol of the Confederacy for the greater part of the War Between the States.

The Governor was the most youthful, save one, in the long line that stretches back to the redoubtable Captain John Smith, a worthy representative of a family paralleling the entire history of the Commonwealth with notable achievements. He, Harry Flood Byrd, direct descendant of the founder of Richmond, and brother of Richard Evelyn Byrd, Jr., had been elected as an astute, political leader and successful business man on a platform pledging a complete reorganization and modernization of the governmental machinery of the Old Dominion,

a government that had grown at will through three centuries of changing conditions and varied experiences.

The Governor's recommendation was unanimously adopted by the Assembly, the appropriation suggested for the survey being increased by \$10,000. After careful consideration the New York Bureau of Municipal Research was selected to make the study, which was begun in May, 1926, and completed in January, 1927. In the transmission of its report to the committee on consolidation and simplification, the Bureau, through its director, Dr. Luther Gulick, said, "While the report may seem somewhat lengthy, it has been made as concise as seems advisable, considering the fact that the *survey is one of the most comprehensive thus far made of any state government in the United States.*"

It is not the purpose of this brief article to deal with the whole, interesting report of the Bureau, but with the chapter on public welfare, sometime defined as the "newest function of Democracy."

In this field of government, as in others, the Bureau ran into institutions, practices and theories as old as Anglo-Saxon government. At the same time it found others entirely modern, and even ultra-modern. Commenting on that fact, the Bureau

said, "Many parts of the present machinery of administration are thoroughly antiquated. They belong almost to the era of the stage coach and the tallow candle; and here they are trying to function in the age of the motor cars and the incandescent lights," facts known already to many students of history and government.

The conditions found by the Bureau are neither inexplicable nor discouraging when viewed as a growth, or in relation to the genius of the government or the psychology of the people. Governmental social effort in Virginia dates back to the very day on which the three small caravels were tied to the cypress trees on the banks of Jamestown Island, for no sooner had they disembarked than the problem of caring for the defective, dependent and delinquent classes arose. As early as 1646 the Assembly enacted a law designed to establish a work-house at James City, or Jamestown, to provide for the care and vocational education of poor children. The following year a statute was passed to govern the conditions of poor debtors. In 1653 another statute was passed to control vagrancy and begging. By 1661 the Assembly had inaugurated a governmental system of child welfare under the supervision of the vestries of the established church, embodying some principles which are now regarded by the superficially educated of the social work personnel as being new and modern. The jail system began, no doubt, within the first few days of the Colony, as soon as human nature had regained its land-legs, and was, by 1635, established throughout the settlements pursuant to acts of the Assembly. By 1760 the majority of the counties, or parishes, had built almshouses, and, in 1769, the first state institution in America for the care of the insane

was built at Williamsburg, then the capital of the Colony.

It will be seen, therefore, that long before the Revolution a system of out-door relief for the poor, a system of child placing, almshouses, jails and hospitals for the insane had been established, and statutes dealing with vagrancy, illegitimacy and other social problems had been enacted. (The Virginia Penitentiary was built at Richmond somewhat later by a great figure of the Revolution, its foremost penman, both author and architect, Thomas Jefferson.)

Thus, anciently, was laid the basis for the later development of social administration in the old Commonwealth, which sufficiently explains the conditions mentioned above by the reviewers of the government.

From the Revolution until the War Between the States there was little, if any, addition to the State's charitable and correctional institutions; but as soon as the integrity of the State was restored, the Assembly began to provide new facilities for handling the increasing social burdens. In 1870, while Virginia was still under military control, the State bought from the Freedman's Bureau a former army hospital and transformed it into a state hospital for the colored insane, and since that time two additional hospitals for the insane, two colonies for the epileptic and feeble-minded, two state prison farms, two general hospitals for the care of indigent defectives, four industrial schools for delinquent juveniles and two schools for the deaf and blind have been established, not to mention a number of homes for dependent veterans of the War and a number of agencies which receive subsidies from the State, all of which come within the field of public welfare and do not include educational or health institu-



tions. This list includes the above mentioned hospital for the colored insane, a school for the colored deaf and blind and two industrial schools for delinquent, colored children, each of which was the first of its character established in America.

These several institutions were created by individual acts of the Assembly and placed under the control of boards of directors appointed by the governors. In addition to these institutions, the following offices were created from time to time: Commissioner of Hospitals, a constitutional officer; Prison Board, a constitutional agency; The State Commission for the Blind, a statutory board; two general hospital boards, statutory offices, and a board for the control of the Confederate homes.

As a first step in the direction of a slight coordination of this vast system of eleemosynary and penal institutions, the Assembly, in 1908, established the State Board of Charities and Corrections, limiting its duties, however, to those of a visitorial and recommendatory character. Later statutes gave to the Board of Charities and Corrections limited executive power over the juvenile wards of the State, making it the official agency for the care of dependent, delinquent and neglected children committed by the courts. In 1922 the State Board of Charities and Corrections was somewhat reorganized and given the name of State Board of Public Welfare, with executive power over the local social agencies of the counties and cities, but not over the state institutions and agencies.

Addressing itself to this thoroughly disintegrated system of state-controlled, welfare institutions and agencies, the Bureau of Municipal Research had the following to say:

Certainly, it cannot be said that Virginia has been unmindful of her responsibility for the welfare of her sick, and otherwise dependent, or for the care and control of her delinquents. Nor has she been niggardly in her appropriations for public welfare betterment. Yet, when the organizations responsible for the spending of State appropriations are critically examined and the results of their expenditure appraised, it is clear that the decentralization of responsibility for public welfare work furnishes a constantly increasing opportunity for waste of money and effort, and contributes to the perpetuation of ideals of public welfare work, which are not in accord with modern conceptions of what this important State function represents. In the matter of public welfare legislation, Virginia has been one of the most progressive of states, and if these laws are read without reference to the administrative organization for making them effective, they would seem to offer convincing argument against the criticism made above. But no matter how highly one may commend her welfare legislation, Virginia's effort in this respect has been largely wasted because of her failure to incorporate in law a sound administrative plan. With every public welfare institution and agency functioning as an independent unit, and each board carrying on its affairs, according to its own ideas, and to meet its own local needs, the general interests of the State as a whole have well nigh been lost sight of. This, in spite of the fact that all sorts of makeshifts have been adopted by the State to offset the hampering influences of constitutional and statutory limitations to coordinate action.

In approaching this situation, so roughly sketched, the Bureau found much encouragement in the fact that the very decentralization thereof lent itself to a process of simplification, the only obstacles being the two or three offices or agencies established by the constitution. The greater number were statutory in their origin, thereby permitting of immediate reorganization by the Assembly. The nucleus of a central administrative agency was found in the State Board of Public Welfare, which had already morally begun to assume a place of importance and power throughout the whole field of social administration. The Commissioner of

Public Welfare was an elective officer of the Board of Public Welfare, which was itself under the appointive power of the Governor. As part of the "short ballot" recommendation of the Governor, it was proposed that the Commissioner of Public Welfare should be appointed by the Governor and that the Board of Public Welfare should be continued merely as an advisory body.

It was the ideal of the Bureau of Municipal Research that the old Board of Public Welfare, the Commission for the Blind, the Boards of Managers or Visitors of the four schools for delinquent children, the two schools for the deaf and blind, and the soldiers' home should be abolished by statute; that, pending constitutional amendment, the office of Commissioner of Hospitals should be transferred to the office of the Commissioner of Public Welfare, who should act as Commissioner of Hospitals in the meanwhile; that a constitutional amendment should provide for the abolishment of the five special hospital boards, the General Hospital Board and the Prison Board; that the expenditures at the general, state hospitals for the care of indigent people should be under the control of the Commissioner of Public Welfare, and that all of the above functions of the government should be placed under the executive power of the Commissioner of Public Welfare. This would mean that the four hospitals for the insane, the colonies for the feeble-minded, the schools for the deaf and blind, the industrial schools for juvenile delinquents and the entire penitentiary system, as well as the child welfare work and the organization and supervision of county and city social agencies by the Board of Public Welfare, would be combined in the one distinct department of government, the Department of Public Welfare, under a

commissioner appointed by and answerable to the Governor.

To administer such a department the Bureau recommended the addition of a staff of professional and technical supervisory officers to aid the superintendents of the institutions, and a staff of psychiatric social workers and parole officers to serve all institutions where such service is required. It justified this program from an economic standpoint, for the program was one of economy as well as simplification, in the estimated reduction of costs by reason of improved care and supervision of institutional inmates, by revenues from paying patients, by a distribution of farm products and better direction of farm operations, by improved supervision and standardization of dietary, by the elimination of waste in the operation of institutional utilities, by improved county welfare activities and by greater returns from expenditures for child welfare.

The following outline of organization and personnel was given by the Bureau as a complete and adequately staffed unit for the proposed Department of Public Welfare:

**Bureau of Administration:**

Commissioner .....	\$6,000
Supervising Psychiatrist ....	4,000
Supervising Physician .....	4,000
Supervising Pathologist ....	3,600
Supervising Dietitian .....	2,500
Supervising Engineer .....	3,000
Educational and Vocational Supervisor .....	3,000
Secretary to the Commis- sioner .....	2,400

**Division of Stenographic Service:**

Stenographers, 5 @ \$1,200 ..	6,000
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**Division of Parole:**

Psychiatric Social Workers, 3 @ \$1,800 .....	5,400
Parole Officers, 5 @ \$1,500 ..	7,500
	<hr/> \$47,400

Bureau of Financial Statistics:			
Director.....	3,600		
Assistant to Director.....	3,000	6,600	
Bureau of Child Care:			
Director.....	3,000		
Case Workers, 2 @ \$2,000...	4,000		
Supervisor of Children's Institutions.....	2,000		
Field Workers (inspection of placement homes).....	7,500	16,500	
Bureau of County and City Organizations			
Director.....	3,000		
Field Workers, 2 @ \$1,800..	3,600	6,600	
Total for Department Personnel.....			
		\$77,100	

In a supplementary note to the outline given above, the Bureau suggested the later development of additional bureaus in the Department of Public Welfare, such as mental hygiene, as might be found necessary or expedient. It suggested certain changes of policy of a general nature in the administration of state institutions, for example, the inauguration of a system of pay patients in several of the state institutions.

The act provided that the report of the Bureau of Municipal Research should be received by a Virginia committee on consolidation and simplification, which in turn was instructed to report specific recommendations to the Governor, which was done in due course of time. This committee became known as the Reed Committee, taking its name from its chairman, and its recommendations were embodied in one comprehensive statute prepared by the Legislative Reference Bureau. A special session of the Assembly was called in February, 1927, to consider the reorganization bill, which was passed practically as written.

It was not to be expected that the Reed Committee would adopt the full recommendations of the New York report, nor that the Assembly would enact such into law at once, in view of the great antiquity of many of the institutions and the constitutional and statutory obstacles thereto. It went as far, however, as it deemed it could without crippling the institutions at the present time, and provided for future changes as soon as amendments to the constitution and certain parallel changes shall have been made.

Specifically, in the field of public welfare, the reorganization bill, which became law on July 1, 1927, provided for the abolishment of the four boards of directors of the industrial schools and the substitution therefor of two small boards, one for the white schools and one for the colored, with the Commissioner of Public Welfare on both; it grouped all of the public welfare institutions and agencies discussed above in the Department of Public Welfare for the time being as "associated agencies"; it provided for the submission of proposed amendments to the constitution to the electorate, which, if adopted, will make it possible for the Assembly to do away with the present constitutional boards and offices and place them within the Department of Public Welfare as recommended by the Bureau.

In keeping with the ideal of the New York Bureau, the Commissioner of Public Welfare has assisted the Budget Commission in preparing the several budgets of the public welfare institutions for the forthcoming biennium, and has, in co-operation with the Governor, begun to make the changes in administration of the institutions suggested in the report of the Bureau, as far as can be made pending the necessary subsequent legislation.



## PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH IN PUBLIC WELFARE

## A CONFERENCE PRONOUNCEMENT

The general scope and some of the most urgent needs of research in public welfare have been clearly stated by a two-day conference on public welfare in government, held at the National Institute of Public Administration, New York City, July 28 and 29, 1927. The findings of this conference are of especial importance because of the personnel of its members, representative of political science, practical administration, social work, sociology, and special governmental research. Present were Charles A. Beard; Frank Bane, commissioner of public welfare of Virginia; Ellen Potter, formerly commissioner of public welfare, Pennsylvania; Professor John L. Gillin, professor in the University of Wisconsin; C. C. Carstens, secretary of the Child Welfare League of America; Richard Conant, commissioner of public welfare of Massachusetts; N. M. Miles, of the Ohio Bureau of Government Research; Ruth Taylor, deputy commissioner of public welfare of Westchester County; Sydnor Walker, of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial; and Carl McCombs, of the National Institute of Public Administration. The public welfare research projects listed by this group include:

1. *Public Welfare Statistics.* A review of the statistical practice of state and local public welfare agencies is highly desirable. In such a study effort should be made to discover what statistical tests, if any, are being used by state or local agencies to measure the efficiency of their work, and to work out, if possible, worthwhile tests which may be universally applied by governmental authorities.
2. *Comparative Study of Public Welfare Functions.* This study is designed to show for state, county, town, and city (with special emphasis on state and county units) what public welfare functions are carried on, and what the relationship may be between the various governmental units in the performance of these functions. In general the nature of the organization of the various units for public welfare work should be described, and the merits or defects of the different organization types indicated.
3. *Training for Public Welfare Administration.* This study should be designed to show:
  - a. What are the existing facilities for training men and women for public welfare work, and what is the character of the training offered?
  - b. What are the opportunities in public welfare administration for trained men and women? Are they sufficient to warrant an expansion of existing facilities for public welfare training?
  - c. What is done by state welfare executives to give their technical assistants a well-rounded view of public welfare in all its varied relations?
4. *Public Welfare Personnel.* A study should be made to determine:
  - a. What are the bases of appointment and tenure of public welfare executives (particularly of state)?
  - b. How does the compensation of public welfare executives and specialists compare with that of private welfare workers, and what standards of compensation are desirable in official service?
  - c. What does experience of state welfare agencies show with respect to the careers of their executives—i.e., continuity in service through changes in party control of government?
  - d. Is civil service selection and tenure an advantage or disadvantage in public welfare work?
5. *Management of Disaster Relief.* A study should be made of existing laws relative to the responsibility of public welfare authorities for disaster relief. What are the problems of disaster relief? How far are public welfare authorities authorized and equipped to deal with them? What functions ought to reside in public welfare departments (state) in the administration of disaster relief?
6. *Subsidies in Public Welfare.* Inquiries should include:
  - a. What is the present practice and results of public subsidy of private welfare agencies?

- b. What is the present situation with respect to the subsidy of government by private agencies for public welfare promotion?
  - c. What is the present practice of the various states in making grants in aid to local units of government?
7. *Relation of Public and Private Welfare Agencies.*  
What are the general principles in law of the various states governing the relation of public and private welfare agencies? What should be the responsibility of public welfare departments in supervision of private agencies?

8. *Expenditures for Public Welfare.* Some of the questions are:

- a. What are the total expenditures for official public welfare work in the various states, —including expenditures of state, county, town, city—for those activities generally recognized as falling under the head of public welfare?
- b. What is the total expenditure of state governments for public welfare purposes, classified according to major function?

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Throughout the Memphis meeting, the National Conference is emphasizing the relation of government to human affairs. The topic for the general session on Tuesday night, May 8, is *The Responsibility of Government for Human Welfare*, and there is scarcely a division which does not have one or more sections devoted to special phases of this important function of government. Divisions VIII and IX emphasize this field especially, the former dealing with the *Organization of Social Forces* with William Hodson as Chairman, and the latter with *Public Officials and Administration* under the chairmanship of William J. Ellis.

### DIVISION VIII

#### *Section Meeting I.*

- 1. The Coöperation of the Department of Commerce and Private Business in Simplifying Standards of Manufacture.
- 2. What Are the Fundamental Objectives of a Council of Social Agencies?

#### *Section Meeting II.*

- 1. Organizing Community Forces for City Planning.
- 2. The Contribution of the Community Chest to Community Welfare Planning.

#### *Section Meeting III.*

- 1. Legislative Reform Through Fact Finding and Public Education.

- 2. Fact Finding and Research as a Basis for Program Making in Social Work.

#### *Section Meeting IV.* Organizing Committees and Conferences to Secure Group Thinking and Action.

#### *Section Meeting V.*

- Group Discussion 1. Discussion of Papers Presented at Formal Meetings of the Division.
- Group Discussion 2. The Social Service Exchange.
- Group Discussion 3. Program to be announced.
- Group Discussion 4. Program to be announced.
- Group Discussion 5. Program to be announced.

### DIVISION IX

#### *Section Meeting I.* (Joint Session with Division III—Health.) The Problem of Venereal Disease Control in Institutions.

- 1. The Treatment of Venereal Disease in Institutions.
- 2. Opportunities for Research in Venereal Disease Control in Institutions.

#### *Section Meeting II.* Program to be Announced.

#### *Section Meeting III.* Advantage and Disadvantages of Civil Service in Relation to Public Welfare Activities.

#### *Section Meeting IV.* (Joint Session with Division X—The Immigrant.) Migration.

- 1. What the South Might Do to Discourage Migration.
- 2. What the North Might Do Properly to Adjust the Migrant.

#### *Section Meeting V.* (Joint Session with Committee on Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children in Their Own Homes.) The Place of Mothers' Aid in a State Program of Public Welfare.

## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION GROWTH<sup>1</sup>

P. K. WHELPTON

#### INDUSTRIALIZATION AS AFFECTING IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION GROWTH

SO FAR, the affect of industrialization on population growth in the United States has been considered only from the standpoint of natural increase. It might be said, however, that immigration as well as natural increase is responsible for the growth of population. The question thus arises whether the industrial development of the nation has attracted enough foreigners to make up for its unfavorable effect on natural increase. Several aspects of this question deserve attention.

In the first place, does immigration actually add to a nation's population? Many students of the problem hold a quite different view and agree with Walker that total population is little affected.<sup>2</sup> They believe that the native population is forced to meet greater competition because of the coming of the immigrants, and that its birth rate is forced lower as a result. According to this theory, immigration is merely a substitution of one

group in the population for some other group, rather than an addition to the total. If it is true, there has been no gain from immigration to offset the decreased rate of natural growth due to industrialization and urbanization. But even admitting that immigration does add to population, how much has industrialization increased the movement, and to what extent has it made up for the lowered natural increase?

Some ideas on the first of these points may be gathered from the data in Table V. The decade 1900-1910 which is ordinarily thought of as having an unusually heavy immigration, stands but little higher than 1880-1890 or 1850-1860 in regard to the proportion of population foreign born, or amount of immigration relative to population. During these earlier periods the vast acreage of free land available for homesteading probably was the chief inducement to many of the immigrants. In 1860, 20 per cent of the foreign born lived in five of the more purely agricultural states,<sup>3</sup> probably on farms for the most part. Another 16 per cent lived in Missouri, Illinois, and Michigan, where agriculture was the occupation of slightly

<sup>1</sup> This concludes Mr. Whelpton's paper the first part of which appeared in *SOCIAL FORCES*, March, 1928.—EDITORS.

<sup>2</sup> Walker, F. A., *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, Vol. II, p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas. *8th Census*, Vol. Population, pp. 606-607.



over half the employed. Apparently a considerable amount of the earlier immigration would have gone on even without industrialization and urbanization, and only the balance, though the major part, it is true, remains to be dealt with.

Have these immigrants, drawn here by cities and factories, been sufficiently numerous to offset the lower rate of natural increase in city as compared with country? If so, the population of the states more largely urban and receiving industrially attracted immigrants to a greater extent, should have grown more

states has compensated for a rate of natural increase lower than that of the more agricultural states should be shown by comparing the number of people born locally plus the foreign born residents.

In classifying the states for this comparison, the requirements for the first group were a high proportion of both urban and foreign born, and a medium to large relative increase in the number of foreign born between censuses; for the second group, a high proportion of rural inhabitants, a low proportion of foreign born, and a decrease or small relative increase in the number of foreign born during the intercensal period. The results are shown in Table VI from 1880-1890 to date, the 1880 Census being the first to include the required material. Several groupings of states were tried, but each gave the same result, namely, a considerably higher rate of growth for the four decades in the agricultural states not affected particularly by immigration. Only in the single decade 1900-1910 did immigration to those industrial states receiving most immigrants take place on a large enough scale to nearly make up for the smaller number born in those states, and bring the relative increase for the group almost up to the agricultural group. But even here, the latter was 10 per cent ahead.

It might be argued that the immigrants themselves were only part of the effect of immigration on increasing the number of inhabitants, that a higher birth rate among this group as compared with the native born made the rate of population growth larger than it would have been without them. Several studies made of the size of families of native and foreign born in northeastern states might be held to substantiate this view. It has already been shown, however, that the fecundity of rural people is considerably greater than of urban. Since the immigrants

TABLE V  
TREND OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

	RATIO OF FOREIGN BORN TO TOTAL POPULATION*	RATIO OF IMMIGRANTS OF INTERCENSAL DECADE TO TOTAL POPULATION†
1920	13.2	5.4
1910	14.7	9.6
1900	13.6	4.8
1890	14.7	8.3
1880	13.3	5.6
1870	14.4	6.0
1860	13.2	8.0
1850	9.7	7.1
1840		3.5
1830		1.1

\* 14th Census, Vol. II, p. 30.

† Jenks, J. W., and Lauck, W. J., *The Immigration Problem*, Chart II, (1922).

rapidly than that of the more rural states not receiving many of these immigrants. Probably all residents of a state should not be considered in this connection, but rather the persons born in the state plus the foreign born residents, in order to eliminate the effect of interstate migration. A little is still apparent, however, for children born to couples newly arrived in a state would swell the total of people born in that state at the expense of the state in which their parents were born. But, barring this point, the extent to which immigration to the more industrial

attracted by industrialization have lived in cities for the most part, the size of their families has been adversely affected by this urban influence. Thompson points out that only the newer immigrants now have large families, and that there is every reason to believe they will be affected by city life in the second and third generations and have smaller families, as has

dren under 7 per 1000 women 18 to 44<sup>5</sup> in the native rural districts, a ratio slightly larger than that of 956 for newer immigrants and considerably larger than that of 632 for earlier immigrants. True, the largest ratio shown, 1238, is for recent immigrants in places of 10,000 to 50,000, but since nearly half of these immigrants are in cities of 500,000 or over with a

TABLE VI  
EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION TO INDUSTRIAL STATES ON INCREASE OF POPULATION  
(000 omitted)

	STATE GROUPS	WHITE PERSONS BORN IN STATES	FOREIGN BORN LIVING IN STATES	TOTAL	RELATIVE INCREASE DURING DECADE	INCREASE OF FOREIGN BORN RELATIVE TO IN- CREASE OF TOTAL
					<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>
1920	Industrial*	27,440	7,748	35,188	14.3	3.6
	Agricultural†	26,616	1,261	27,877	18.3	0.02
1910	Industrial	23,187	7,587	30,774	22.3	37.6
	Agricultural	22,301	1,260	23,561	24.5	3.3
1900	Industrial	19,688	5,479	25,167	19.7	23.1
	Agricultural	17,824	1,106	18,930	25.3	Decrease
1890	Industrial	16,495	4,522	21,017	21.8	33.9
	Agricultural	13,976	1,132	15,108	31.0	8.9
1880	Industrial	14,007	3,246	17,253		
	Agricultural	10,716	813	11,529		

\* Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois.

† Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico.

occurred already in the case of the Germans, Irish, and English.<sup>4</sup>

But even now the newer immigrants in cities do not have larger families on the whole than native white stock in strictly rural communities. This may be shown by contrasting the ratio of children to women for areas representative of each type of population as is done in Table VII. Here it appears that there are 1013 chil-

much lower ratio, the entire group does not stand so well. The earlier immigrants stand well under the recent in every case, and pull the average for both still further down to 839.

While a sufficiently larger death rate in the rural native areas might offset their larger families, as compared with the urban immigrant areas, it is not likely

<sup>5</sup> Change in age groups from those previously used due to different grouping in the Census for these elements of the population.

<sup>4</sup> *Population Problems*, Louis I. Dublin, editor, p. 44.

that this occurs. The rural death rate as a whole is below the urban as has been shown previously. Although the rural native areas in the above comparison probably are more isolated with regard to

TABLE VII  
BIRTH RATE AMONG RURAL NATIVES AND URBAN  
IMMIGRANTS, AS INDICATED BY CHILDREN UNDER  
7 PER 1000 WOMEN 18-44, 1920

Rural natives, in counties having no town of  
2500 or over\*..... 1013

	SIZE OF CITIES				AVERAGE
	500,000 and over	100,000 to 500,000	50,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 50,000	
Urban Immigrants:†					
Recent‡.....	799	917	1,095	1,238	956§
Early¶.....	516	734	729	722	632§
Both.....	741	850	933	961	839§

\* Includes 147 counties as follows: Iowa 19, Missouri 20, South Dakota 20, Kansas 20, North Carolina 18, Kentucky 20, Alabama 10, and Arkansas 20, each having less than 10 per cent foreign born whites or negroes, the number of women being 361,000 and of children, 375,000. *14th Census*, Vols. I and III.

† Includes 91 wards having over 40 per cent foreign born whites in 29 cities of 50,000 or more, and 22 smaller cities having over 35 per cent foreign born whites. Lowering the per cent requirement for smaller cities was necessary to secure a more adequate sample as statistics were not given by wards, and only 8 cities had over 40 per cent foreign born whites. All wards and cities meeting the above requirements were used, the number of women being 879,000 and of children 692,000. *14th Census*, Vol. III.

‡ Over 50 per cent of the foreign born whites were born in southern or eastern Europe.

§ Weighted according to the number of foreign born whites in cities of each class.

¶ Over 50 per cent of the foreign born whites were born in northern or western Europe or Canada.

medical facilities (since they contain no city of 2500 or more) and may have a higher death rate than the balance of the rural territory, it is even more probable that the urban areas peopled largely by immigrants are more congested, have

poorer sanitation, make less use of urban medical facilities, and consequently have a higher death rate, than the balance of the city group. So in all probability the differential birth rate in favor of the native rural population is carried over to the rate of natural increase with little material change.

Summing up these last two sections, the rate of population increase in rural communities has been greater than that in urban communities in spite of the number of foreigners that have come to the cities, and the large families that many of them have had. Or, stated differently, had the United States remained a more agricultural nation, its population would have tended to grow in numbers more rapidly than has been the case. The larger natural increase under rural conditions would have been more than sufficient to offset any loss from the shutting off of city-attracted immigrants and their potential descendants.

#### CAPACITY OF FORMER AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION TO SUPPORT POPULATION

It now remains to consider how many people could have been supported within the nation if the industrial development of the last century had not taken place, if agriculture as then conducted had remained the chief occupation. Would the more rapid rate of population growth have been checked after a few decades by a lack of means of subsistence, resulting in a smaller population today? Or would increased production from an expanding and more intensive agriculture have enabled this rapid rate of growth to continue, and have supported more people than there now are?

As for producing within national boundaries the amount of agricultural products needed to furnish food and textiles for a



larger population, it must be remembered that this very thing has been done continuously. Certain individual products, of course, are not covered by this statement for practically no silk or coffee has been grown at home, and only a relatively small amount of sugar. But such deficiencies as these have been much more than offset by surpluses in others, particularly grain, cotton, and pork products, so that the value of agricultural products exported has been far in excess of the value imported.<sup>6</sup> During 1896-1905 and 1916-1920, the excess was especially large. On a per capita basis 1896-1900 has led all five year periods, and 1916-1920 has been exceeded by but five out of eleven periods as far back as 1851. The great jump in agricultural production which made possible such high per capita exports during the World War period was a surprise to many. It brought out strikingly the latent agricultural resources of the nation and indicated the increased output that might be expected in the face of necessity. It is true that agricultural imports exceeded exports in 1922-1923, but this was probably due in large part to decreased production resulting from the low prices of the agricultural depression. The agricultural balance of trade was favorable again in 1923-1924, however, and appears likely to continue so until several more million people are added to the population, when an excess of imports may be the normal condition.

Comparing the need for the products standing high in the lists of agricultural exports and imports, the advantage would seem to lie with the former. Cotton,

wheat and flour, and pork products have been the leading exports in recent years, with sugar, silk, and coffee the leading imports. Although Americans have a proverbial sweet tooth, are usually heavy coffee drinkers, and have come to consider certain silk garments almost as necessities, yet from the standpoint of actual need for supporting life, most people would probably hold the exported products more essential.

The real question, then, is not whether the nation has possessed the natural resources needed to supply agricultural products for a larger population, but whether different methods applied to these resources would have yielded as large results. That farming methods would be more primitive than they now are if there had been little industrial development in the last century, is evident. Probably the greatest change would be the vast amount of work that would have to be done by hand rather than by the labor saving machinery perfected so largely in American factories. But the modern implements have had little effect on the quantity of produce secured from a given acreage; they have simply enabled a given number of farmers to cultivate more land than they otherwise could have done. Without this farm machinery, there would still be as much land available, but a much higher proportion of the population would be required to cultivate it.

The additional number of agricultural workers that would be required to produce the present output, using the type of implements of a century ago, is often overestimated. For example, Bogart,<sup>7</sup> Quaintance,<sup>8</sup> and Wright,<sup>9</sup> calculate that the

<sup>6</sup> In terms of stable money. Current values of exports and imports of farm products from United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Statistics, Bulletin 75, and Yearbooks. These are divided by an index of wholesale prices, from Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 416.

<sup>7</sup> Bogart, E. L., *Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Quaintance, H. W., *American Economic Association*, 3rd series, Vol. V, no. 4, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Wright, C. D., *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, Vols. I and II.

efficiency of labor in producing the nine principal crops<sup>10</sup> is five times as great now as in 1800 to 1850. In analyzing their methods, however, it appears that all the plowing for wheat and barley at the present time is done by steam traction engines pulling six gang plows, and that the ripe grain is cut and threshed by large combine harvesters. This is far from actual conditions. Again, it is sometimes inferred that the increase in efficiency in crop production represents agriculture as a whole. In fact, however, the labor requirements per unit of livestock have changed but little compared with those of crops. Barring milking and shearing machines, not much progress has been made in using power and machinery in stock production.

Another type of error commonly made in estimating changes in agricultural efficiency is that of using without correction the number of workers in "Agriculture" as given by the Census reports for 1900 and before. From 1870 to 1900, however, a large number of "laborers not specified" were included in the "Domestic and Personal Service" group, although many of them were undoubtedly agricultural laborers. In 1870, for example, there appears to have been one of these for every 9 persons listed as employed in agriculture.<sup>11</sup>

When allowances are made for these discrepancies, modern implements seem to have a little more than doubled the efficiency of farm labor between 1850 and 1920, as shown in Table VIII. This is based on the acres of nine important crops and number of head of cattle, swine,

and sheep cared for per man, the items being combined on the basis of days of work per year. If these labor requirements could be adjusted for the changes in production per acre of crops and per head of livestock, a more accurate measure of

TABLE VIII  
TREND OF EFFICIENCY OF LABOR IN AGRICULTURE

	MAN WORK UNITS ON*			NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE†	WORK PER PERSON	
	Crops‡	Livestock‡	Total		Units	Index number, 1850 = 100
1920	1,904	619	2,523	10,923	231	214
1910	1,605	565	2,170	11,704	185	172
1900	1,447	543	1,990	10,699	186	172
1890	1,147	541	1,688	9,770	173	160
1880	906	413	1,319	8,505	155	144
1870	525	294	819	6,904	119	110
1860	413	287	700	6,287	111	103
1850	319	217	536	4,965	108	100

\* In millions.

† Acreage for preceding year from Census and Department of Agriculture Reports, estimated for 1849 and 1859 from production data. Man work units per acre based on methods of 1850 or earlier from 13th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Vol. I, 1898, as follows: Corn 4, Cotton 17, Hay 2, Potatoes 11, Small Grains 6.

‡ Number of head of live stock from United States Department of Agriculture Circular 241. Man work units per head from Farmers' Bulletin 1139 as follows: Dairy cattle 13, Beef cattle 3, Swine 1, Sheep 5. These are used in absence of data for earlier years, as for crops, but are probably too high for that period as the increased work accompanying the current larger production per head may have more than offset the greater use of labor saving devices.

§ In thousands, from Whelpton, P. K., *Occupational Groups, 1820-1920*. Journal American Statistical Association, Vol. 21, No. 155.

the increase in efficiency could be secured. But this seems impossible of accomplishment with any great accuracy because of the lack of data as to production rates for beef cattle and hogs in particular, and as to the relation between increased produc-

<sup>10</sup> Corn, wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, hay, and cotton. These crops occupied over 92 per cent of the entire crop acreage in 1920.

<sup>11</sup> Whelpton, P. K., *Occupational Groups, 1820-1920*. Journal American Statistical Association, Vol. 21, No. 155.

tion rates and increased labor requirements, the latter presenting the greater difficulty. Rough estimates indicate an average increase in production rates of 20 to 30 per cent for crops and stock combined, which might mean an increase of 5 to 20 per cent in labor requirements. On this basis the 1920 efficiency index of 214 in Table VIII would be raised to between 225 and 257. This would mean that with the implements and methods of the former period, about 24,600,000 to 28,100,000 workers would have been required in agriculture in 1920 instead of the 10,900,000 actually at work, or approximately the same proportion of occupied persons as in 1850. With the present quantity of crops and livestock and the larger working force, the acreage of crops per man would be about the same as in 1850, but the number of dairy cows per man would be about 38 per cent less than in 1850, beef cattle 56 per cent less, hogs 52 per cent less, and sheep 73 per cent less.

With about 26,500,000 farm workers instead of 10,900,000, little labor saving machinery, and a relatively small urban population, the geographical distribution of farming would be different in certain important respects. In the first place, communities would be self sufficient to a much greater extent, producing mainly for home use and little for trade. For example, there would have been little development of specialized dairy and truck sections to supply nearby densely populated urban areas, for the latter would not exist. Neither would there be such specialized fruit and out-of-season truck sections as there now are far from the more thickly settled areas, because of the great expense of marketing their products and the very heavy loss from spoiling with transportation facilities of a century ago. Instead, there would be greater diversi-

fication throughout the farming area. The aggregate production of truck crops, fruit, dairy products, and other items might be quite similar, but it would be the result of producing for home consumption throughout a more densely populated farming country.

Differences of a second type would result from the absence of modern farm machinery. Much land in the far west which is now farmed on a very extensive plan with tractors or 12 to 20 horse teams, combine harvesters, etc., would have remained in ranches or lain idle, acre yields being so limited by natural factors that members of a farm family could not support themselves on the small amount of land they could work by older methods. On the other hand, there is a large acreage of rolling to rough land in the eastern and southern states which formerly was farmed, but which has been forced back into pasture or timber because of the greater ease of production with labor saving machinery on the more level land elsewhere. Probably much of it would have been cropped up to the present had there been no such variation in tillage methods. For the nation as a whole, these changes might tend to offset each other and there might be no great difference in the total quantity of crops and stock produced but simply an increase in workers per square mile and much less machinery used.

It appears then, that the same proportion of the present working population as in 1850, using the methods of that time, could produce the present quantities of agricultural goods. Moreover, the requirement for non-agricultural products undoubtedly could be met by the balance of the employed as well now as then. Accordingly, pressure on means of subsistence would not have held population below present numbers. Furthermore, this size would have been reached at a



considerably earlier date because of the more rapid rate of natural increase under rural conditions. But how much farther could growth have gone? How great an excess over the present population would the earlier type of agricultural and industrial organization have been able to support? In many respects the answer is the same as to the question so common at present—How much larger can the population become? That the United States will have many more inhabitants in the future no one doubts, the differences of opinion come in setting the amount, and how they will be supported.

From an agricultural standpoint, five methods of meeting the increased requirements of the growing population are commonly advanced. They are: first, increasing the farming area; second, using this land more intensively; third, drawing on foreign countries for more goods and sending them less; fourth, improving the efficiency of consumption; and, lastly, lowering the standard of living. Four of these—increased acreage, intensification, greater consumptive efficiency, and lowered standards of living are not particularly dependent on industrial development. The remaining method, on the contrary, practically requires large exports of manufactured goods, huge foreign investments, or services on a big scale to pay for the great quantity of agricultural imports. There is danger in relying on it for a long future period, considering time from the standpoint of the life of a nation rather than of an individual. The vacant areas in the world capable of producing an excess of agricultural products are fast filling up, and the time is approaching when they will be merely self-sustaining. Great Britain, the outstanding example of a nation that has organized its economic life on the basis of ability to import a large part of its food from abroad, is

finding her position becoming more and more difficult. Whether she is overpopulated or not is a vital question among her leaders at the present time.

Estimates of the increase in population that can be supported permanently in the United States, then, should rest on four of the five methods. Taking up first the possibility of increasing the acreage, Baker has estimated that 973,000,000 acres could be cropped instead of 365,000,000 as at present.<sup>12</sup> However, some 116,000,000 acres of this is semi-arid, 52,000,000 sub-humid, and 25,000,000 irrigable land that probably could not be farmed without modern machinery, leaving a maximum crop acreage of 775,000,000 acres possible under conditions of 1850. The pasture acreage amounts at present to 1,055,000,000 acres<sup>13</sup> but with the above increase in crop acreage it would be reduced to about 645,000,000 acres, and the carrying capacity lowered in a greater ratio as the better pasture land would be put in crops.

Larger crop yields per acre and production per head of livestock could also be secured under the pressure of necessity. It is probably impossible to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, for diminishing returns set in too quickly. Still it seems reasonable to estimate that crop yields nearly as large as the average of Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, and France may be secured or 50 per cent more than present yields.<sup>14</sup> The additional commercial fertilizer that would be used to increase yields with present farming methods would have to be replaced by the saving of residues and by-products now largely wasted and the more intensive working of land by hand under conditions of a century ago. In certain

<sup>12</sup> *Agricultural Yearbook*, 1923, p. 427.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 469 and 488.

respects, lack of machinery would be a help in increasing acre yields if sufficient hand labor were available in its place. Production per head of livestock would seem to offer a better field for improvement than crop yields per acre, since the factors limiting output seem under control to a greater extent. This combined with improved pasture management might make possible an increased output of 122 per cent from humid pasture and 50 per cent from other pasture.<sup>15</sup>

By altering consuming habits, food requiring a relatively large amount of land and labor in its production could be partially replaced by equally nutritious and palatable foods requiring less land and labor. These changes take place slowly. If carried far, they would probably be considered as lowering the standard of living. In the last 15 years however, considerable progress has been made in the right direction, particularly an increased use of dairy products and pork, and decreased use of beef, and with no feeling of lower living standards. A continuation of this trend and the attainment of such advantage as Germany had over the United States before the War would seem possible. The main differences would be a greater use of cereals, potatoes and vegetables and a smaller use of beef and sugar. Pork and its products, dairy products and fruits were nearly on an equal basis in the two countries. Should these German standards be followed here, there would be a saving of 9 per cent in crop land and 36 per cent in humid grass land pasture required for a given population.<sup>16</sup> And this gain could be secured more easily by a population living closer to the land, as ours would live if conditions of a century ago still existed.

Combining the effects of increased

acreage, larger yields, and better consuming habits, it is estimated that a population of 350,000,000 could be supported.<sup>17</sup> This is based on modern agriculture and might be considered too high for a farming system lacking machinery, since it was previously pointed out that under the latter conditions, much dry farming land would have to stay in pasture. The estimate of 350,000,000 persons assumes only 1.79 acres of crop land per capita, however,<sup>18</sup> or a total of 627,000,000 acres. As 775,000,000 crop acres was the limit previously set for 1850 farming methods, no reduction in the maximum population figure would have to be made on this account.

The remaining factor, a lower standard of living as far as agricultural products are concerned, is not so pleasant to contemplate. Should it come into play, a still larger population could exist, possibly 500,000,000 persons or more.

But to settle the point at issue it is unnecessary to decide exactly as to the maximum population possible under the conditions of the earlier period. It is only essential that it be somewhat in excess of the present population. Even though the estimates just referred to are twice as high as the facts justify, if cut in two they would still be more than half again as high as the number of inhabitants today. Accordingly, had a more rapid rate of increase under agricultural conditions brought the population of the nation to its present size two or three decades ago, the growth need not have stopped then because of pressure on agricultural resources but could have continued until a much larger total was reached.

In closing, it may be desirable to point out again the limits of this discussion. The desirability of a rapid growth and

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 488.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 497.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 488 and 497.

large population has not been in question, the people of a nation may be better off if they do not increase in numbers too rapidly and become too crowded. No attempt has been made to compare differences between the quantities of non-agricultural goods and services now available per person and those which would be available under the earlier type of agricultural and industrial organization. Naturally these differences would be great, though perhaps not as much so as is ordinarily thought. Lastly, the conclusion drawn for the United States would not apply to many other countries. In Great Britain, for example, the population increase would have been much smaller during the last century had there been little industrial development. Her agriculture in 1800 was much nearer its maximum production than that of the United States.

The purpose in mind here has been to evaluate the effect which industrialization and urbanization have had on the rate of population growth in the United States. The evidence is strong that growth has been checked. Agriculture as carried on a century ago could have supported more people than the nation has today, and without industrialization and urbanization slowing up the rate of increase, the additional population would be here. Apparently the fundamental condition for enabling the few millions living in this country a century ago to increase in numbers most rapidly was not latent mineral resources nor inherent technical skill, but a vast expanse of good farm land capable of producing a wide range of products. If development had centered around this resource rather than veering off along industrial lines, the population of the United States would be larger now than it is.

### INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY AND IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

The International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry which holds its first triennial congress at Girton College, Cambridge, England from June 28 to July 3, 1928 will be of interest to social scientists at work on industrial problems.

The Association was organized at the congress held in Flushing, Holland in 1925. Its membership is composed of those directly engaged in industry either as personnel and welfare workers, employers, employed, or as research workers studying industrial problems. Its purpose and field of interest are indicated in

its title. Through conferences, summer schools and publications it serves as a center for the exchange of experience and for group study and discussion by its members and their invited guests.

The summer school of 1927 held in Baveno, Italy of which Mrs. Lillian M. Gilbreth of Montclair, N. J. was chairman had for its subject the elimination of unnecessary fatigue. Copies of the proceedings containing valuable papers and records of discussions by psychologists and personnel workers in Europe are obtainable from Room 600, 130 East 22nd Street at a charge of \$1.00 with check or money order payable to Louise C. Odencrantz.



Inquiries regarding the Cambridge Congress may be sent to the same address.

The headquarters of the Association are Javastraat 66, The Hague, Holland. Its

membership now includes 26 nationalities. Louise C. Odencrantz of New York is a vice president and Sam A. Lewisohn and Mary Van Kleeck are "reporters" (council members) from this country.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The Memphis meeting of the National Conference is providing a definite program on *Industrial and Economic Problems* (Division V), with John A. Lapp, Chairman. The following outlines briefly the five sections:

*Section Meeting I.* Industrial Problems of the New South.

*Section Meeting II.* (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family.) Economic Stabilization of the Family.

1. The Standard of Living.

2. Workmen's Compensation and the Family.  
3. Rounding Out the Program of Social Insurance.

*Section Meeting III.*

Group Discussion 1. Rehabilitation.

Group Discussion 2. Women in Industry.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Organizations.) Wage Adjustment.

*Section Meeting IV.*

1. The Goal of Division V.

2. Some Criteria of Progress.

*Section Meeting V.* The World Wide Problems of Migration.

## NEIGHBORHOODS IN ENGLISH CITIES

The National Council for Social Service in Great Britain has taken great interest in, and has done much to foster, councils of social service in towns and cities and community councils in counties and villages. In October (1927) the following note appeared in its "Social Service Bulletin" that is of interest when compared to the efforts in some American cities to federate neighborhood associations, especially in Brooklyn where perhaps the greatest neighborhood independence is maintained together with borough federation. With a population somewhat less mobile and with tradition to help, English cities may accomplish more than American cities have:

"NEIGHBOURHOOD—DEVELOPMENT IN TOWNS. An interesting comparison is made in a letter from Mr. F. G. D'Aeth to the Liverpool Daily Post, between the local development of social life in villages and in urban areas. The writer points out that even a small village of five hundred inhabitants will often have half a dozen organizations providing for different aspects of the athletic, social and mental development of its members (in fact he might have put the figure for population much lower, seeing that the National Council is at present in touch with a

village of only eighty-four inhabitants which is striving to furnish itself with a village hall for its social activities), but that Liverpool, with a population equal to two hundred villages of 4,000 souls each, has nothing approaching a proportionate number of social organizations; and he concludes that 'it would appear that only half of Liverpool's citizens are provided for as to their deeper interests, apart from their religious needs' so that action is urgently needed in order to supply the city with the social organizations which it lacks.

"There is no doubt about the smothering effect of life in large cities. The city is a mechanical and commercial unit, but only to a very limited degree a social or spiritual one. The cells are so small and the organism so large that the individual is obliterated. The city may become a social and spiritual community in time, but meanwhile each neighborhood has at least the potentiality of developing a corporate life of its own, and the final unity of the whole city may be built on a basis of federation rather than of individual citizenship. What unit of federation would be the most effective can be found only by experiment; but certainly the parish system, which completely covers the ground and has tradition on its side, has strong claims."

# LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,  
PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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Recent Contributions in the Field of Juvenile Delinquency, Child Welfare, and Family Case Work	Wiley B. Sanders	648
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Recent Contributions in the Field of Play and Recreation.....	Harold D. Meyer	656
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## BOOKS OF THE YEAR AND SELECTED NEW BOOKS IN THE SOCIAL FIELD

HOWARD W. ODUM

In these notes we shall call attention to the year's output in new books published, the selected list of forty books made for the League of Nations by the American Library Association, a few recommended new books on social science, social research and scientific method, a dozen social science series, and a list of books aiming at popular interpretation of the modern science and society scene.

In the midst of the common acclaim about the "flood of new books" it is illuminating to note that the 1927 output of books published in the United States has just about equalled the output of twenty years ago, but has not reached that of the decade from 1909 to 1918. Indeed, as may be seen from the *Publishers' Weekly* annual summary number of January 21, 1928, the 1915 output exceeded that of 1927 by more than 2100 books. The number for 1927, however, 10,153, was slightly in excess of the previous year, 9,925. Comparable to last year, exclusive of fiction and juveniles, religion registers the largest number, while biography and sociology rank next. Books listed as "religion" decreased from 933 to 879, while those on "sociology" increased from 544 to 611. Biography again increased, 625 as opposed to 551, while there were slight decreases in history, geography, law, education, philosophy, medicine and business. Again, as was pointed out last year, if fiction and juveniles be

excepted, the aggregate number of books dealing with matters of social concern is considerably more than half of the total, that is, more than four thousand over against 7639. Great Britain also showed an increase, with 12,799 in 1926 and 13,810 in 1927, with sociology increasing from 848 to 891 and religion from 863 to 1000.

The second list of notable books to be selected by the American Library Association for the League of Nations has just been announced. The first list for 1925 included approximately fifty books. *Social Forces* published considerable parts of three of the volumes, four, in all, from these lists having come out of Chapel Hill. The current list follows: *New England in the Republic, 1776-1850* by James Truslow Adams (Little); *The Advancing South* by Edwin Mims (Doubleday); *The Conquest of Brazil* by Roy Nash (Harcourt); *Acoma, the Sky City* by Mary Katrine Sedgwick (Harvard University Press); *Our Times, v. I, The Turn of the Century, 1900-1904* by Mark Sullivan (Scribner); *Fix Bayonets!* by John W. Thomason (Scribner); *Essays on Nationalism* by Carlton J. H. Hayes (Macmillan); *The United States Oil Policy* by John Ise (Yale University Press); *The Meaning of a Liberal Education* by Everett Dean Martin (W. W. Norton and Company); *Imperialism and World Politics* by Parker T. Moon (Macmillan); *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*



by N. N. Puckett (University of North Carolina Press); *This Believing World* by Lewis Browne (Macmillan); *The Face of Silence* by Dhan Gopal Mukerji (E. P. Dutton); *Religion in the Making* by A. N. Whitehead (Macmillan); *The New Universe* by Baker Brownell (D. Van Nostrand Company); *The Story of Philosophy* by William T. Durant (Simon & Schuster); *Richard Kane Looks at Life* by Irwin Edman (Houghton); *The Making of the Modern Mind* by John Herman Randall (Houghton); *Genetic Studies of Genius; v. I, Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children* by Lewis M. Terman and others (Stanford University Press); *Three American Plays* by Maxwell Anderson and Lawrence Stallings (Harcourt); *The Lonesome Road; six plays for the Negro theatre* by Paul Green (Robert M. McBride); *The Great God Brown* by Eugene O'Neill (Boni and Liveright); *Israfel; the life and times of Edgar Allan Poe* by Hervey Allen (George H. Doran Company); *Dean Briggs* by Rollo W. Brown (Harper); *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* by Edward M. House, edited by Charles Seymour (Houghton); *Edgar Allan Poe; a study in genius* by Joseph Wood Krutch (Alfred A. Knopf); *Jefferson* by Albert Jay Nock (Harcourt); *Abraham Lincoln, the prairie years* by Carl Sandburg (Harcourt); *Turgenev, the man, his art, and his age* by Avrahm Yarmolinsky (Century); *On the Trail of Ancient Man* by Roy Chapman Andrews (G. P. Putnam's Sons); *The Arcturus Adventure* by William Beebe (G. P. Putnam's Sons); *A Bipolar Theory of Living Processes* by George W. Crile (Macmillan); *Naturalist's Guide to the Americas* by the Ecological Society of America (Williams and Wilkins); *Brains of Rats and Men* by Charles J. Herrick (University of Chicago Press); *The Theory of the Gene* by Thomas H. Morgan (Yale University Press); *The Nature of the World and of Man* by Horatio Hackett Newman,

(University of Chicago Press); *Photosynthesis* by Herman A. Spoehr (Chemical Catalog Company); *Primitive Negro Sculpture* by Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro (Harcourt); *The Golden Day* by Lewis Mumford (Boni and Liveright); *Critical Woodcuts* by Stuart P. Sherman (Scribner).

Within recent years social work has become more and more involved in the whole process of social research and the methods of social science. This is reflected in two ways, the participation in social research by social workers and social work agencies, and in their utilization of results of social research and the findings of the social sciences. Indeed social work may well be considered a chief medium through which social research may hope to exert its guiding influence upon society.

Social work agencies, too, are finding it more and more tempting to undertake research work of their own and in many instances deem specialized research an essential function. A noteworthy example of important research plans of this sort is that of the Welfare Council of New York City in which Dr. Neva R. Deardorff has been made director of research with a very definite program and an ample budget. Other social work agencies include some two score groups, a partial list of which may be found in the reference cited below. A number of state conferences of social work and the National Conference have incorporated research topics in their programs. Still other types of social work organizations undertaking research are the state departments of public welfare, certain municipal departments, and such national agencies as the Children's Bureau, and the Woman's Bureau. Organizations emphasizing social research also include a number of foundations, such as the Laura Spelman

Rockefeller Memorial, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, and others.

It must be clear that the increased emphasis upon research brings with it also considerable responsibility for scientific methods in both discovery and interpretation of facts. The social worker will therefore welcome many new books dealing with research, the scientific method, the social sciences, and their limitations.

*Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* by Frederic A. Ogg (Century, 1928) is a most comprehensive directory and classification of research agencies and means in the United States. Within its seventeen chapters and 450 odd pages can be found ample reference to current agencies with an excellent bibliography of books and articles. Following his chapter on "The Problem of Research in the United States," Professor Ogg cites twenty-six university centers of research and discusses special developments in seven, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, North Carolina, Princeton, and Yale. He cites thirty societies devoted to particular disciplines, ten research councils and institutes, seventeen devoted to business research, twenty-seven to government, sixty-three to miscellaneous and comprehensive objectives, thirty-four to private research and business, more than a score of governmental agencies, and half as many private foundations. This book well repays the American Council of Learned Societies for its planning and carrying out the undertaking under the direction of Professor Ogg.

*The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations* edited by William Fielding Ogburn and Alexander Goldenweiser (Houghton Mifflin, 1927) presents the best statement of the new alignment of the social sciences yet in print. Professor Ogburn's thesis seems to be that the social sciences, "unless all

signs deceive us, will constitute the contribution of the twentieth century to human thought and power. Civilization, nurtured by the natural and exact sciences, must henceforth look for its preservation and enhancement to the sciences of society." And therefore it is of the utmost importance that the social sciences be centered upon human problems through their research and guidance. Thirty-four chapters include nine on the relation of anthropology to other disciplines—economics, ethics, history, law, political science, psychology, religion, sociology, statistics; eight chapters on economics and its interrelations; six on history; seven on political science; nine on sociology; and four on the general social sciences. Since the chapters are written by thirty-three different authors, the reader must not get lost in the maze of interrelationships, which, after all, is but an effective approach to the whole problem of social research "demanding methods from the various social sciences."

*The Scientific Habit of Thought* by Frederick Barry (Columbia University Press, 1927) is a delightfully and authentically written "informal discussion of the source and character of dependable knowledge." Professor Barry's thesis seems to be that from both the humanistic and the intellectual viewpoints "the general acquisition of scientific knowledge is of far less consequence than the inculcation of the scientific habit of thought." His four divisions include chapters on "Science and the Sciences," "The Nature of Fact," "The Elements of Theory," and "Scientific Humanism."

Although the average reader will probably not care to go through the entire volume, *The Evolution of Scientific Thought* by A. d'Abro (Boni and Liveright, 1927) presents an admirable story of science and the scientific method from Newton to

Einstein, with an especially valuable chapter on the "Methodology of Science," pages 373 to 481.

*Science and Human Progress* by Sir Oliver Lodge (Doran, 1927) is offered as "the presentation of a rare and well founded philosophy based upon twentieth century research and tempered by keen vision of a great mind." The reader will therefore keep in mind the emphasis upon philosophy and the specialized purpose of the book, the Halley Stewart Lectures, as well as the characteristic method and temperament of the author.

*Life and the Student* by Charles Horton Cooley (Knopf, 1927) presents in Part IV a rare chapter on "Art, Science and Sociology," as well as other chapters remarkably lucid and penetrating, expressed as only the eminent sociologist from Michigan can.

From *Inside Experience* by Joseph K. Hart (Longmans, 1927) we call attention especially to chapter V on "The Nature of Society" and Chapter XII on "The Problem of Science." Science, the servant of life, "busy with the task of making this a habitable world" becomes theology when in dogmatism it demands ultimate truth, and "every such 'science' has had to eat its own words, sooner or later."

From *Psychology as a Science* by H. P. Weld (Henry Holt, 1928) Chapter I on "The Meaning of Science" treats informally the notions, classifications, methods, problems and goals of traditional sciences alongside those of critical science, while in Chapter IV the concept of technology is discussed from the viewpoints of both traditional and critical science.

In Volume I of *Introduction to the History of Science* by George Sarton (Williams and Wilkins, 1927) there are more than 800 pages of valuable material of which the reader may select with an effective method

suggested by the author. Chapter I, introductory, is especially interesting and valuable for the general reader.

*Community: A Sociological Study* by R. M. MacIver (Macmillan, 1928) in the new American edition, challenges the methods and philosophy of modern sociology, urging better definitions of its concepts and subject matter. The emphasis upon institutions as objective realities as opposed to attitudes as subjective processes is of special importance to social workers. Professor MacIver who has come this year as Professor of Sociology at Barnard is working on the case book of scientific method in the social sciences, with Stuart Rice, for the Social Science Research Council, under the direction of the Committee of Scientific method.

Three working outlines, two of which have been revised recently, include the *Technique of Social Surveys* by M. C. Elmer, (Jesse Ray Miller, 1927), *The New Social Research* by Emory S. Bogardus (*ibid.*), and *How to do Research Work* by W. C. Schluter (Prentice-Hall, 1926), while *The Scientific Study of Human Society* by Franklin H. Giddings (University of North Carolina Press) is always of constant practical as well as theoretical value.

In the more general field are recommended especially the several *social science series* now being published: Ross' Century Social Science Series and Gillin's Century Social Work Series; Barnes and Thomas' Knopf Series; Chapin's Harper Series; Groves' Longmans Series; Fairchild's Wiley Series; Odum's Henry Holt American Social Science Series and University of North Carolina Social Study Series; and other special publishers, without perhaps assigned editors, such as Crowell, Macmillan, Prentice-Hall, Williams and Wilkins, Bobbs-Merrill, Appleton, University of Chicago, Columbia University Press, Yale University Press. The list is too



long to note here, but a special circular can be had from the several publishers.

Finally, there are new books and magazine articles treating of science, the scientific method and research, in more popular terminology, sometimes none too scientific in their methods and conclusions, but always stimulating and helpful to the student or worker who has achieved the "scientific habit of mind." Among these are *Science: The False Messiah* by C. E.

Ayers (Bobbs-Merrill, 1927); *The War on Modern Science* by Maynard Shipley (Knopf, 1927); *Heredity and Human Affairs* by Edward M. East (Scribner, 1927); *The Next Age of Man* by A. E. Wiggam (Bobbs-Merrill, 1927); *Scientific Humanism* by Lothrop Stoddard (Scribner, 1926); *The Science of Religion* by L. G. Rohrbaugh (Henry Holt, 1927); *The Higher Foolishness* by David Starr Jordan (Bobbs-Merrill, 1927); and Gamaliel Bradford's *Darwin* (Houghton Mifflin, 1927).

## RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

ROY M. BROWN

"Rapid advance in various fields has rendered obsolete much of the literature on the criminal." This statement with which Professor Gillin begins the preface to his textbook on criminology and penology should not be interpreted as suggesting that few are concerned with bringing the literature on this subject up to date. Within the last five years about half a hundred books have been issued from the presses in this country. In these volumes the problem of the offender against the law is presented from almost every conceivable angle. They run the gamut from the comprehensive text on criminology and penology by John Lewis Gillin to the brief but highly colored autobiography of Otto Wood.

In the field of general criminology and penology two excellent text books were produced within the period under consideration. The first to appear was Edwin H. Sutherland's *Criminology* (Lippincott, 1924). It was followed, within two years after its appearance, by J. L. Gillin's *Criminology and Penology* (Century, 1926). Both cover the whole field of criminology

and penology. Each traces quite adequately for his purpose the development of the attitude of organized society toward crime and the methods of dealing with the offender. Gillin's treatment is the more voluminous and perhaps somewhat the more comprehensive. In so far as the personal bias of the author is shown Sutherland is more nearly in accord with the more advanced thought of today; or, to put it the other way around, Gillin is somewhat the more conservative.

In *The Repression of Crime* (Doran, 1926) Harry Elmer Barnes has attempted not "a general textbook on criminology and penology" but "to present those historical facts which will constitute the only intelligent background against which to begin the systematic study of criminal science in its present stage of development." The book is devoted largely to the development of the prison as an instrument for the suppression of crime. There are chapters on the evolution of modern penology, of criminal jurisprudence in Pennsylvania, and trial by jury. There is a final chapter of summary and conclusion. The volume

is indeed an introduction to the historical facts which must form the background for the systematic study of crime and its treatment.

The egocentric impulse which leads to crime has its origin, says Boris Brazol in *The Elements of Crime* (Oxford University Press, 1927), in the perversion or suppression of the instincts of self-preservation and reproduction and in the innate tendency known as the imitative instinct. In the resulting habit formation the development of these instincts is supplemented by other factors, physical and mental, the whole development being a compound of these psychic tendencies and the social environment. The economic factor plays a part, although a less important one than is often supposed. Other factors that contribute to present day criminality are the decay of religion, the disintegration of the home, a perverted education, a press that fosters delinquent impulses, a decadent literature, and an art "diametrically opposed to the harmonic instinct" and so detrimental to "social rhythm." Legislation itself may foster crime, either when it is not supported by the social conscience or when it attempts unduly to interfere with individual activities.

For an enlightened attitude toward the problems of prison discipline and an intelligent appreciation of the responsibilities of his position, J. O. Stutsman stands near the head of the prison wardens in this country. In *Curing the Criminal* (Macmillan, 1926) he has presented his views and given something of his experiences. There is nothing new in the contention that curing the criminal is not primarily a punitive proposition, but a process of discriminatory treatment of individuals; or that psychology and psychiatry have a place in the treatment of the offender against the law, or that in this curative process self-government, open air, recrea-

tion, and individual treatment of the prisoner are important factors. The book derives its chief interest from the position of its author.

In his last little book, *Prisons and Common Sense* (Lippincott, 1924), Thomas Mott Osborne restated his attitude toward the treatment of prisoners, summarized the principles underlying the Mutual Welfare League, and again waved the red rag in the face of the old time wardens. It was Osborne's insistence that he had succeeded at Sing Sing and at Portsmouth by applying to the management of the prison the same common sense methods which he had found made for success in his private business, perhaps, that most angered the professional politician-warden. Common sense, indeed! Did not the politician-warden gain his present position of eminence by the use of common sense when he was the political boss of his ward or county?

The working of prisoners on the public roads in county "chain gangs," an important method of imprisonment in several states in the South, has received but scant attention at the hands of the penologists. Frank Tannenbaum devotes a single chapter to the system in *Darker Phases of the South* (Putnam, 1924). *The North Carolina Chain Gang* by Jesse F. Steiner and Roy M. Brown (The University of North Carolina Press, 1927) attempts to describe and evaluate the system as it exists in North Carolina. There is discussion of the chain gang as a penal institution, of the early development of the system, of methods of organization, types of camps, problems of administration, and economic aspects of county convict road work. There is a statistical study of three-fifths of the total chain gang population of the state, and a few case histories of Negro prisoners.

Into a rather crudely organized and

poorly written book Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing has gathered in *Man's Judgment of Death* (Putman, 1924) a mass of statistics which form quite an imposing exhibit in favor of the contention that the effect of capital punishment as a deterrent is negligible. He arrives at the conclusion that, "Life imprisonment with a long unavoidable minimum provides a form of punishment that is more certain of application than the death penalty can ever be made; it is more scientific in application because with its long but variable minimum it presents a possibility for individualization and differentiation of treatment; by reason of these qualities its universal adaption will provide a more effective deterrent."

As one reads the formal texts on penology and even such books as *Curing the Criminal* and *Man's Judgment of Death* he gets the impression that there has developed a science of penology with the double purpose of protecting society and reforming the offender, and that prisons in their management are approaching the ideals of this newer penology. Our smug social complacency in regard to our prisons needs frequently the salutary shock of such a book as Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare's *In Prison* (Knopf, 1924). The Missouri State Prison in 1919 presents a revolting picture of ignorance, brutality, and incompetence on the part of those in authority; of filth, disease, and vice. Among the greatest of the crimes that this prison has committed against society is the destruction of case histories of 200 inmates secured by Mrs. O'Hare. The little volume is well written and adds a valuable chapter to the literature presenting the reactions of persons of refinement to present day prison life.

The theory that criminals as a class are of inferior mental ability and that this accounts in very large measure for their

delinquencies received a rather rude shock when the results of the army mental tests were announced. One result was a more critical attitude toward both the tests and the results, and especially toward the army tests. Carl Murchison in *Criminal Intelligence* (Clark University, 1926) has applied the Alpha test to prisoners and found that they made a better showing than the men drafted for the army. The author recognizes that such a conclusion really settles nothing except that in whatever it is that the Alpha test shows, the prisoner is superior to the drafted soldier. "No assumption is made as to whether the Alpha test measures anything that is native."

Interest aroused by the "crime wave" of the last few years has lead to the organization of various groups and commissions for the study of crime. Some of these commissions have made reports on the surveys which they have made. Other surveys and other reports are in the making. The most comprehensive of the reports has been issued under the title, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (Macmillan, 1926). The scope of this survey is indicated by the titles of the subdivisions: the metropolitan police systems; the sheriff and the coroner; presentation of the state's case; judicial administration; bail bonds; ten years of supreme court decisions; a statistical interpretation of the criminal process; necessary changes in criminal procedure; record systems; mental disorder, crime and the law; pardons, paroles and commutations. Edited by Professor Raymond Moley, the report forms one of the most valuable volumes in the general field of the study of crime.

Several interesting conferences on crime have been held within the period. Among these was the International Prison Congress in London in 1925. Fifty-six



nations were represented. The Congress took an advanced stand on every phase of the treatment of crime and the criminal. One of the most important findings was that:

The trial ought to be divided into two parts: in the first the examination and decision as to his guilt should take place; in the second one the punishment should be discussed and fixed. From this part the public and the injured party should be excluded.

This plan, improved by providing that the second part shall be in the hands of a board of experts, has been proposed for the State of New York by Governor Smith.

Beginning in the winter of 1923-4 a series of conferences was held under the auspices of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor for the promotion of the States' Use System of the products of prison industries. Under this plan an agreement would be made by a group of states whereby the prisons of one state would manufacture a certain product

which would be furnished to the institutions of a group of states; a second state would manufacture another article, and so on. The principle was rather readily accepted by the delegates to the various regional conferences held, but little or no progress has been made toward putting the plan into operation.

On November 2 and 3, 1927, a National Conference on the reduction of crime called by the National Crime Commission met in Washington. The meeting had for its chief object, the providing of an opportunity for the exchange of views. Everybody was represented except the criminals. Crime commissions, merchants, associations, chambers of commerce, organized labor, policemen, the President's Cabinet, trained penologists, psychiatrists, the rotary club, and the supreme court, each had its spokesman who presented his own point of view or his particular interest in the reduction of crime.

#### RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, CHILD WELFARE, AND FAMILY CASE WORK

WILEY B. SANDERS

If one may judge by the number and variety of books and magazine articles which have appeared during the past five years upon the subject of juvenile delinquency, it seems that the trend of public interest in juvenile delinquency has followed quite closely the interest of the public in crime in general.

Of the fifteen books selected more or less arbitrarily as representing the outstanding contributions to the field of juvenile delinquency within the past half decade, not one is of epoch-making significance, such as Healy's *Individual Delinquent*,

published in 1917. With the exception of Burt's *Young Delinquent*, none are comprehensive in their scope, but deal rather with special phases of the problem of delinquency. Indeed, so great is the variety of subjects covered in the general field of juvenile delinquency, and so different the methods of approach, that it is impossible to place them in the order of their relative merit or rank. At one extreme are found such studies as Lindsey and Evans' *Revolt of Modern Youth* and Van Waters' *Youth in Conflict*, which have achieved widespread popularity because

of their human appeal and avoidance of technical language, while at the other extreme may be placed Slawson's *Delinquent Boy*, which employs such highly refined statistical tables that only a combined mathematician and psychologist could properly appreciate the significance of the results obtained. Under these circumstances, therefore, it appears most satisfactory to present the *nature* rather than the *relative merit* of the various contributions, and, for convenience of discussion the books may be divided into two main groups, (1) those primarily interested in *diagnosis* or getting at the causes of the anti-social conduct, and (2) those interested in the *administrative aspects of treatment*.

*Diagnosis.* In *The Young Delinquent* (Appleton, 1925) Dr. Cyril Burt, Professor of Education in the University of London, attempts to cover the whole field of diagnosis and treatment of Juvenile delinquency, much after the manner of Dr. Healy in the *Individual Delinquent*. There are several important differences, however, between the two books. While Healy's study includes one thousand cases of repeated juvenile offenders in Chicago, Dr. Burt limits his study to only two hundred consecutive cases of juvenile delinquency in London, a number so small as to render the statistical tables of doubtful value, even though the author makes use of a control group of four hundred non-delinquent London school children. It may be stated further that the amount of attention devoted by Dr. Burt to seasonal variations in delinquency is out of proportion to the results secured, while the elaborate treatment of instincts as causative factors of delinquency, culminating in the attempt to classify the offenses according to instincts, detracts in considerable measure from

this otherwise valuable and suggestive study.

Dr. Burt, however, is not the only student of delinquent behavior who is beguiled by the siren voices of the instincts, for Miss Florence Mateer in *The Unstable Child* (Appleton, 1924) begins with the premise that juvenile delinquency is a natural phenomenon, "The result of the mental residuum of former stages, and of imperfect attempts to produce individuals who can live naturally in the present stage of development," and, following this line of reasoning, reaches the conclusion, fatalistic and yet amusing—"There is no such thing as a bad boy or girl. Either the child does not know any better, or else he cannot help it." Deliberate choice of delinquency is thereby ruled out altogether. The essential defect in the attempt to explain delinquency from the standpoint of instincts, is the obvious impossibility of pointing out why a particular instinct produces different results in different people, why, for example, one boy with an excessive amount of the acquisitive instinct steals apples, while another boy with a like propensity collects bird eggs or marbles.

Closely akin to the "instinctive" approach to delinquency is Dr. W. I. Thomas' attempt in *The Unadjusted Girl* (Little, Brown, 1923) to explain "behavior through the study of the forces which impel to action," namely, the four fundamental wishes,—(1) the desire for new experience, (2) the desire for security, (3) the desire for response, and (4) the desire for recognition. While interesting, the book is not convincing, for the author fails to indicate why the presence of these wishes in one individual leads to anti-social conduct, while in another person such wishes result in acceptable behavior.

The best example of the psychiatric

approach to juvenile delinquency through the case study method is found in *Three Problem Children*, (Joint Committee on Methods of Presenting Delinquency, 1924) by Mary B. Sayles. "Mental conflicts" and "inferiority complexes" are reduced to common sense terms in this charmingly written little book, and the problem of treatment is delightfully simplified when one understands the causes of the personality disturbance.

In contrast with the case study method should be placed John Slawson's study of *The Delinquent Boy* (Badger, 1926) from the standpoint of statistical psychology. Only data obtained by objective methods, —intelligence tests, physical examinations, etc.—are included in this study of nearly fifteen hundred boys in institutions for delinquents in New York State, and the results secured are compared with those obtained by similar tests of selected and unselected groups of non-delinquents. As a result of these intelligence tests the author reaches the conclusion that in verbal abstract intelligence the delinquent boys are very inferior to non-delinquent children, and in non-verbal concrete intelligence they are still inferior, though to a less marked extent.

F. M. Thrasher's study, *The Gang*, (University of Chicago, 1927) is a detailed sociological analysis of 1313 gangs in Chicago, both juvenile and adult. Its chief value to the student of juvenile delinquency is the fact that of certain groups of boys brought before the juvenile court in Chicago, about three-fourths attributed their delinquency to gang influence.

While *The Revolt of Modern Youth* (Boni and Liveright, 1925) by Judge Ben Lindsey and Wainwright Evans, and Miriam Van Waters' *Youth in Conflict* (New Republic, 1925) are, perhaps, the most readable books in the entire group,

they are of little scientific value as far as throwing light upon the causation of juvenile delinquency is concerned. In the former book the emphasis is centered upon sex delinquencies, and the authors take keen delight in playing up ministers' daughters and deacons' sons as frequent offenders. The alarming number of sex delinquencies among adolescents is attributed chiefly to "the conspiracy of silence" on the part of parents and teachers, who withhold from the younger generation even the elementary facts of sex life and sex hygiene. Judge Lindsey's point of view, apparently, is that society is the principal offender, and whatever the young folks do is all right.

*Treatment.* Flexner and Baldwin's *Juvenile Courts and Probation* which for a number of years was the only available manual for juvenile court workers, has now been superseded by Lou's *Juvenile Courts in the United States* (University of North Carolina, 1927). While Mr. Lou has made no original contribution to the administrative aspects of the juvenile court, he has performed a much needed service by digesting the various Children's Bureau publications in the field of delinquency, and assembling in one volume what have come to be generally accepted as standard methods of juvenile court procedure and practice. In *Children's Courts* (Allen and Unwin, 1926) Mr. W. C. Hall in a rather sketchy manner has performed a similar service for the juvenile courts in England. According to this account the essential difference between the American juvenile courts and the children's courts in England is that the procedure in the former case is chiefly of a chancery nature, while in the Mother Country the children's courts are the direct offspring of the criminal courts, the difference being one of degree rather than of kind. The U. S. Children's Bureau pub-



lication (No. 141, Govt. Printing Office, 1925) *Juvenile Courts at Work*, by K. L. Lenroot and E. O. Lundberg, a study of the organization and methods of ten juvenile courts in cities of from one hundred thousand to a million population, is of value not only because it shows what these courts are actually doing, but also because of the emphasis which is placed upon successful methods of work.

Institutional treatment of delinquency likewise receives its share of attention. *Reformatory Reform* (Longmans, Green, 1924) by I. G. Briggs is an interesting description of the author's experiences as an inmate of an English reformatory of the old school. While the monotonous routine and severe discipline of the typical reformatory are bad enough they are not nearly so harmful to the developing personality of the boys as the smug complacency, hypocrisy, indifference, and downright inefficiency of the entire staff of institution officials. The lack of trade training in these institutions, and the consequent failure to find jobs for the boys upon their release, are other outstanding defects. But the institution for children is not altogether bad, as Saul Drucker and M. B. Hexter point out in *Children Astray*, (Harvard University, 1923) a study consisting of twenty-four character sketches of delinquent children cared for by an orphanage. Each case is studied much after the manner of the *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies* with the exception that they are written from the sociological rather than from the psychological point of view. Major emphasis is given to the child's own story and his attitudes, which lends an added interest and value to these case studies. An institution, therefore, can exert a reformatory influence upon delinquent children, provided the officials have a sympathetic understanding of human nature and child psychology. In

this connection it may be added that William Healy and A. L. Bronner in their study *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking* (Macmillan, 1926) show that 70 per cent of the boys committed to institutions for delinquents in Illinois by the Chicago Juvenile Court turn out failures, and 54 per cent of the girls committed to institutions turn out badly, as compared with 34 per cent failures among boys not committed, and 29 per cent failures among girls not sent to institutions. The chief value of this book is that it calls attention to the need for a careful check-up in reference to the effectiveness of juvenile court and institutional treatment of delinquency.

*The Child, the Clinic, and the Court* (New Republic, 1925) is a symposium of interesting papers by Jane Addams and others read at a joint commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first juvenile court and of the fifteenth anniversary of the first psychopathic institute, which was held in Chicago in early January, 1925.

Since the studies made by the United States Children's Bureau cover the field of child welfare so thoroughly very few books from other sources have appeared in recent years along this line. Of these independent studies none seems to have aroused more general interest among social workers than Miss Sophie Van Senden Theis' most interesting account of *How Foster Children Turn Out* (State Charities Aid Association, 1924). For many years child placing agencies had been content to regard their work as successful, but how successful it was, no one knew. To solve this interesting question the New York Charities State Aid Association made a careful follow-up study of 910 foster children who had been placed by them over a period of nearly a quarter of a century, and who had reached the age of eighteen years at the time the study was

made. The results showed that over three-fourths of the placed-out children, or 77.2 per cent, made good. The significance of these figures is all the more striking when it is known that 80 per cent of these children came from bad family background. It is also of interest to learn that almost as many illegitimate children turn out well as other children, and that the foundlings are slightly superior mentally. Elaborate tables in the appendix lend an added value to the book.

Another interesting statistical study is Dr. Robert Morse Woodbury's *Infant Mortality and Its Causes* (Williams and Wilkins, 1926), based largely upon the Children's Bureau investigations in this field. The most striking conclusion is that while the trend in the mortality rate of infants has been steadily downward, the rate for cities of large population is now lower than for the rural portions of the registration area. Premature birth and diarrhea and enteritis were the principal causes of infant mortality listed in 1921, being responsible altogether for about one-third of the infant deaths. It is of further interest to learn that the death rate of artificially fed infants is four times the expected deaths.

*The Care, Cure and Education of the Crippled Child* by Henry E. Abt (International Society for Crippled Children, 1924), is largely composed of a survey of the facilities in the United States for the treatment of this type of handicapped child. An extensive bibliography covers both English and American literature on the subject.

The most significant trend within recent years in child welfare is the emphasis being placed upon the behavior of normal children. Before one can properly understand whether a child is delinquent or defective, one must have standards of normal behavior. Several books have appeared within the past year or two in

this field. *Child Guidance* (Century, 1927) by Smiley C. Blanton and Margaret G. Blanton is easily the best, and should prove of value not only to social workers and teachers but to that much-abused and hard-suffering individual, the parent. Here at last is a book on child psychology that can be understood by the laity, and, most surprising of all, can be put to practical use. Detailed suggestions for the regulation of the physical habits of the child—eating, sleeping, walking, talking, excretory functions, etc.—as well as advice in the more difficult field of mental and social guidance, should make this book just as much a household necessity for the family with young children as is a cook-book. While Dr. Douglas A. Thom's *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* covers essentially the same field, it is more elementary and sketchy, and the everyday parent reading the book is likely to think the author has been unduly cautious in simplifying the text to the level of mediocre parental intelligence. Both books, however, fill a very real need in the modern movement to make parenthood a profession.

In *Social Work a Family Builder* (Saunders, 1926), Miss Harriet Townsend has provided an excellent elementary text book on family case work for beginning case workers, nurses, dietitians, home demonstration agents, home economists, and others interested in the broad field of social work. While the chapters on the backgrounds of social work and the origin of the family are too brief and sketchy to be of much value, the fifth chapter which contrasts the methods of work of the Sunbeam Club in treating a family problem with the careful and constructive technique of the Family Welfare Society is excellent. Chapters 11 and 12, which deal with the diagnosis and treatment of a tuberculous family, are likewise very

well done. The little work is a good companion volume for Richmond's *What is Social Case Work?* and should be on the reading list of every beginner's course in case work.

The optimistic viewpoint of Karl De Schweinitz in *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble* (Houghton Mifflin, 1924) shows that a social worker need not be overwhelmed, as he so often is, by the ever-present burden of his client's difficulties. To help a man out of trouble, the social worker needs to understand the man's background, his setting, his resources, his personal characteristics, and above all he must remember that all information about human beings is relative and therefore subject to revision. The next task is to get the client to appreciate the nature of his difficulty, and to want to be helped. Then comes the slow and painful process of character building by helping the person in trouble to help himself. The principles of case work are abundantly illustrated from the author's own rich and varied experiences as an artist in social relationships.

To meet a long-felt need of schools of social work for illustrative case material for courses in family case work, Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge has assembled in her *Family Welfare Work in a Metropolitan Community* (University of Chicago, 1924) forty-four cases handled by various social

agencies in Chicago. The cases are listed according to types, such as those of chronic or acute illness, insanity and feeble-mindedness, "non-residence," the widow with small children, the deserted family, the unmarried mother and her child, industrial injury, and childhood and old age. One is impressed with the number of mechanical services by the social workers for their clients, and by the number of "contacts" with other agencies, but only occasionally does one get an insight into the process of the "development of personality." A number of the cases, since they were still undergoing treatment by the agency, are left suspended in mid-air at the close of the record, which leaves the reader with the unpleasant sensation of one who has followed with breathless suspense a detective story to the last chapter only to find the concluding explanatory pages torn out. One is not impressed with the success of social treatment as exemplified by these cases, and their teaching value may be found chiefly in pointing out mistakes and omissions in treatment rather than in holding them up as examples to follow. But perhaps the chief fault lies in the impersonal method of writing up case records, which often leaves out the most significant details of the interplay of personalities between worker and client.

## RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

LEE M. BROOKS

Probably in no field of social study and social work have recent contributions and the promise of forthcoming books been more interesting, concrete, and valuable

than those pertaining to marriage and family relationships. Among the 1928 books now in press or soon to be published are new volumes which the social



worker will await with much eagerness. For instance, among these are *Experimental Marriage* by Ernest R. Groves (Longmans, Green), an unusual book, analytically critical of the companionate marriage vogue; *Problems of the Family* by Willystine Goodsell (Century), another of those valuable "practical" volumes; *Family Life in America*, edited by Bruno and West, (Houghton Mifflin), a volume giving the findings and proceedings of the Conference on Family Life in America which recently met to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of family social work; *American Marriage and Family Relationships* by Ernest R. Groves and William Fielding Ogburn (Henry Holt), a combination of social study and statistical analysis of marriage in the United States; *The Child and Society* by Phyllis Blanchard (Longmans, Green), a scholarly study of the present situation; and *Processes and Programs of Child Study* by C. C. Carstens and Henry T. Thurston (Henry Holt), a volume giving the history and development on the one hand, and the modern program on the other, of the whole child welfare movement.

Recent books may be listed under three general divisions: those relating primarily to the child and the parent; to biological foundations; to practical problems of marriage, the family, and modern womanhood. There is, of course, no complete demarcation among these groups and some of the volumes on child guidance, as related to the juvenile delinquent, have been listed in Professor Sanders' article; most of the other books have already been reviewed or noted in *Social Forces*. This brief paper, therefore, simply attempts to list four score or more books which seem to have achieved sufficient recognition to warrant special study. The list has been made in conference with Professor Groves, and follows the general

divisions above mentioned, and is given generally in chronological order covering a five-year period.

#### RELATING PRIMARILY TO THE CHILD AND THE PARENT

- CHILD VERSUS PARENT. By S. S. Wise. Macmillan, 1922.
- PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD. By Norsworthy and Whitley. Macmillan, 1923.
- PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE. By G. B. Mangold. (rev.) Macmillan, 1924.
- WHOLESALE CHILDHOOD. By E. R. and G. H. Groves. Houghton Mifflin, 1924.
- THE CHILD: HIS NATURE AND HIS NEEDS. Ed. by M. V. O'Shea. Children's Foundation, 1924.
- PSYCHOLOGY OF EARLY CHILDHOOD UP TO THE SIXTH YEAR OF AGE. W. Stern, Translated from third Edition. Henry Holt, 1924.
- THE UNSTABLE CHILD. F. Mateer. Appleton, 1924.
- EDUCATION OF GIFTED CHILDREN. L. M. Stedman. World Book Company, 1924.
- HOW FOSTER CHILDREN TURN OUT. S. V. Theis. State Charities Aid Association, 1924.
- SALVAGING AMERICAN GIRLHOOD. I. Davenport. Dutton, 1924.
- PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNADJUSTED SCHOOL CHILD. J. J. B. Morgan. Macmillan, 1924.
- THE PROBLEM CHILD IN SCHOOL. Sayles and Nudd. Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925.
- THE MENTAL GROWTH OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD. A. Gesell. Macmillan, 1925.
- A PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF BABYHOOD. J. C. Fenton. Houghton Mifflin, 1925.
- PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD. Baldwin and Stecher. Appleton, 1925.
- YOUTH IN CONFLICT. M. Van Waters. New Republic, 1925.
- REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH. B. Lindsey and W. Evans. Boni and Liveright, 1925.
- THE CHALLENGE OF CHILDHOOD. I. S. Wile. Thomas Seltzer, 1925.
- THE CHILD, THE CLINIC, AND THE COURT. (Symposium.) New Republic, 1925.
- TRAINING THE TODDLER. E. Cleveland. Lippincott, 1925.
- CHILD MARRIAGES. Richmond and Hall. Russell Sage Foundation, 1925.
- OUR ENEMY THE CHILD. A. de Lima. New Republic, 1925.
- AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF CHILDREN. H. T. Woolley. Macmillan, 1926.
- THE TIRED CHILD. M. and G. Scham. Lippincott, 1926.

OTHER PEOPLE'S DAUGHTERS. E. R. Wembridge. Houghton Mifflin, 1926.

PROBLEMS OF CHILDHOOD. A. Patri. Appleton, 1927.

CHILD GUIDANCE. S. and M. G. Blanton. Century, 1927.

EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF THE EVERYDAY CHILD. D. A. Thom. Appleton, 1927.

YOUR GROWING CHILD. H. A. Bruce. Funk and Wagnalls, 1927.

OUTLINES OF CHILD STUDY. B. C. Gruenberg. Macmillan, 1927.

GUIDANCE OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH. B. C. Gruenberg. Macmillan, 1927.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN CHINA. T. C. Wang. New Republic, 1927.

#### RELATING PRIMARILY TO BIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

SEX AND COMMON SENSE. A. M. Royden. Putnam, 1922.

BIOLOGY OF SEX. T. W. Galloway. D. C. Heath, 1922.

LITTLE ESSAYS OF LOVE AND VIRTUE. H. Ellis. Doran, 1922.

SEX AND SOCIAL HEALTH. T. W. Galloway. American Social Hygiene Association, 1924.

SEX FOR PARENTS AND TEACHERS. W. L. Stowell. Macmillan, 1924.

BIOLOGY OF POPULATION GROWTH. R. Pearl. Knopf, 1925.

MONGREL VIRGINIANS. A. Estabrook and I. E. McDougale. Williams & Wilkins, 1926.

HAPPINESS IN MARRIAGE. M. Sanger. Brentano's, 1926.

SEX FREEDOM AND SOCIAL CONTROL. C. W. Margold. University of Chicago, 1926.

EUGENICS. A. M. Carr-Saunders. Henry Holt, 1926.

HYGIENE OF SEX. M. von Gruber. Williams & Wilkins, 1926.

SEX HYGIENE. Sneider and Sundquist. Henry Holt, 1926.

THE WOMAN A MAN MARRIES. V. C. Pederson. Doran, 1927.

#### RELATING PRIMARILY TO MARRIAGE, THE FAMILY, AND MODERN WOMANHOOD

THE PSYCHO-ANALYTIC STUDY OF THE FAMILY. J. C. Flugel. International Psycho-Analytic Press, 1921.

THE JOB OF BEING A DAD. F. H. Cheley. W. A. Wilde, 1923.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND THE PARENT. H. C. Miller. Thomas Seltzer, 1923.

THE FAMILY AND ITS MEMBERS. A. G. Spencer. Lippincott, 1923.

MAN, WOMAN, AND GOD. A. H. Gray. Doran, 1924.

THE DISINHERITED FAMILY. E. F. Rathbone. Longmans, Green, 1924.

WOMAN AND LEISURE. L. Pruette. Dutton, 1924.

MODERN MARRIAGE, A HANDBOOK. P. Popenoe. Macmillan, 1925.

HOW TO STAY MARRIED. G. Gibbs. Appleton, 1925.

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS. J. G. Cosgrove. Doran, 1925.

CONCERNING PARENTS. B. S. Gans. (Symposium.) New Republic, 1925.

WAGES AND THE FAMILY. P. H. Douglas. University of Chicago, 1925.

WOMAN'S SHARE IN SOCIAL CULTURE. A. G. Spencer. Lippincott, 1925.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MARRIAGE. E. Westermarck. Abridged from 3 volume edition. Macmillan, 1926.

THE BOOK OF MARRIAGE. H. Keyserling. (Symposium.) Harcourt, Brace, 1926.

MARRIAGE AND CAREERS. V. M. Collier. Channel Bookshop, 1926.

INTELLIGENT PARENTHOOD. (Symposium.) University of Chicago, 1926.

MODERN PARENTHOOD. (Symposium.) Southern California Conference on Child Study, 1926.

PARENTHOOD AND THE NEWER PSYCHOLOGY. F. H. Richardson. Putnam, 1926.

HISTORIC ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY LIFE IN RUSSIA. Elaine Elnett. Columbia University, 1926.

CONSERVATION OF THE FAMILY. P. Popenoe. Williams & Wilkins, 1926.

CHRISTIANITY AND DIVORCE. F. H. Norcross. Stratford Company, 1926.

THE DRIFTING HOME. E. R. Groves. Houghton Mifflin, 1926.

WOMAN'S DILEMMA. A. B. Parsons. Crowell, 1926.

THE NEW JAPANESE WOMANHOOD. A. K. Faust. Doran, 1926.

THE MOTHERS. R. Briffault, 3 volumes. Macmillan, 1927.

WHOLESOME MARRIAGE. E. R. and G. H. Groves. Houghton Mifflin, 1927.

THE COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE. Lindsey and Evans. Boni and Liveright, 1927.

LOVE'S COMING OF AGE. E. Carpenter. (Reprint.) Vanguard Press, 1927.

THE RIGHT TO BE HAPPY. Mrs. B. Russell. Harper, 1927.

PARENTS ON PROBATION. M. Van Waters. New Republic, 1927.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY. E. R. Groves. Lippincott, 1927.

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION. E. R. Mowrer. University of Chicago, 1927.

THE HEBREW FAMILY. E. B. Cross. University of Chicago, 1927.

HOMEMAKING, A PROFESSION FOR MEN AND WOMEN. E. and F. MacDonald. Marshall Jones, 1927.

Alongside this list of volumes should be emphasized the enlarged publication service of *The Family*; *Children*, *The Magazine for Parents*; the special edition of the *Survey Graphic* for December 1927, and numerous articles in current magazines.

Publications on the family and marriage stress the fact that the family is changing, is dynamic; that it must face forward

more willingly if it expects to cope successfully with problems of the present day which seem to have arisen as the result of urbanization, the break-down of primary controls, and the dominance of a widespread pleasure-philosophy of life. The existence of so many books on the child, the youth, the parent, on marriage, the family, and the home, and the promise of more to come, are but part of the evidence that the family as an institution has been forced to the front where it can be treated, as it needs and deserves to be treated by the scientific mind.

## RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF PLAY AND RECREATION

HAROLD D. MEYER

While an unusually large amount of practical material has appeared in the field of play and recreation for the past few years, special emphasis has been given to the nature, values and functions of play ways. As Rainwater predicted in his *History of the Play Movement in the United States* there is developing a clearer understanding as to the concepts and functions of play and a growing interest and activity in promoting standards.

Within the past two years such works as *The Philosophy of Athletics* by Elmer Berry, *Organization and Administration of Playgrounds and Recreation* by Jay B. Nash, *The Conduct of Physical Activities* by Wilbur Bowen and *Measuring Motor Ability* by David K. Brace have opened new fields for the play leader and placed in his hands facts that were heretofore unknown. These works will revolutionize the activities of the playground to the extent that leadership studies and uses them.

Due to the advances of the physical sciences because of many discoveries and inventions large numbers of labor saving

and time saving devices have come to give to this civilization something that other civilizations did not and could not possess—leisure time. The leisure time problem is a growing one. There are no evidences to show that its influences will lessen. There are opportunities in this field and a need for effective study. A number of interesting works have appeared in the past few years. *The Threat of Leisure* by George B. Cutten, *The Gang* by Frederic M. Thrasher and *The Iron Man in Industry* by Arthur Pound are worthy of mention.

A number of works have appeared in the practical field of play and recreation. S. C. Staley's book of *Games, Contests and Relays* and the works of Edna Geister are outstanding. *Educational Story Plays and Schoolroom Games* by Emily Elmore and Marie Carns, and *Play Activities for Elementary Schools* by Dorothy LaSalle should find practice in every school. The Playground and Recreation Association of America is continuing to issue worthwhile materials. Their latest bulletin—88 *Suc-*



cessful Play Activities is most practical and valuable.

New works in physical education are changing attitudes and practices. The available material in this field is constantly growing and improving. *The New Physical Education* by Thos. D. Wood and Rosiland F. Cassidy, *Fundamental Danish Gymnastics* by Dorothy Sumption and *Education Through Physical Education* by Agnes Wayman offer the leader attractive material and thoughts. Many other interesting sources are listed.

Mention should be made of the *Recreation Survey of Buffalo*. This survey was conducted by the Buffalo City Planning Association, Inc. Copies of the printed survey may be obtained from the Association, 110 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

*The Playground Magazine*, *The American City*, *Parks and Recreation* and *The Survey* offer interesting and helpful magazine material.

The National Government has sponsored two *National Conferences of Outdoor Recreation*. One hundred and twenty-eight national agencies were represented. Proceedings of these Conferences may be obtained by writing to the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., Proceedings of First Conference, 1924, Senate Document No. 151; for the second Conference, Senate Document No. 117, 1926.

The effort here has been to list some of the outstanding contributions to the field within the past few years. It is impossible in this list to mention all of the divisions of play and recreation. Newer works and efforts in *Athletic and Sports*, *Playground Equipment and Apparatus*, *Dancing and Rhythmic Games*, *Story-Telling*, *Music*, *Dramatics*, *Pageants*, *Festivals* and *Camping* have been omitted. Advances in these fields have been noteworthy and at some future time these subjects will be listed.

#### THEORY OF PLAY AND RECREATION

- THE THEORY OF ORGANIZED PLAY. By W. P. Bowen and E. D. Mitchell. Barnes, 1923.  
 THE PHILOSOPHY OF ATHLETICS. By Elmer Berry. Barnes, 1927.  
 THE PLACE OF PLAY IN EDUCATION. By Jane M. Readey. Methuen and Co., 1927.  
 THE CONDUCT OF PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES. By Wilbur P. Bowen. Barnes, 1927.  
 MEASURING MOTOR ABILITY. By David K. Bruce. Barnes, 1927.  
 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLAY ACTIVITIES. By Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty. Barnes, 1927.

#### LEISURE-TIME PROBLEMS

- THE IRON MAN IN INDUSTRY. By Arthur Pound. The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922.  
 THE PROBLEM OF THE WORKING BOY. By Wm. McCormick. Revell, 1923.  
 REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH. By Ben. B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans. Boni, 1925.  
 YOUTH IN CONFLICT. By Miriam Van Waters. Republic, 1925.  
 THE THREAT OF LEISURE. By Geo. B. Cutten. Yale University Press, 1926.  
 YOUNG WORKING GIRLS. By Robt. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy. Women's Press, 1926.  
 THE GANG. By Frederic M. Thrasher. University of Chicago Press, 1927.

#### ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

- ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION. By Jesse F. Williams. Macmillan, 1922.  
 THE PRACTICE OF ORGANIZED PLAY. By W. P. Bowen and E. D. Mitchell. Barnes, 1923.  
 THE NORMAL COURSE IN PLAY. By Playground and Recreation Association of America. Barnes, 1926.  
 ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF PLAYGROUNDS AND RECREATION. By Jay B. Nash. Barnes, 1927.

#### PRACTICE—GAMES, ENTERTAINMENTS AND SOCIALS

- PRACTICAL HANDBOOK OF GAMES. By Emily W. Elmore. Macmillan, 1922.  
 FUN FOR EVERYBODY. By Playground and Recreation Association of America. 1922.  
 PHUNOLOGY. By E. O. Harbin. Cokesbury Press, 1923.  
 LET'S PLAY. By Edna Geister. Doran, 1923.  
 FUN BOOK. By Edna Geister. Doran, 1923.  
 400 GAMES FOR SCHOOL, HOME AND PLAYGROUND. By Ethel F. Ackets. Owen, 1923.

- PARTIES AND STUNTS AROUND THE YEAR.** By Era Betzner. Women's Press, 1923.
- ALL THE YEAR PLAYGAMES.** By Carolyn S. Bailey. Whitman, 1924.
- FRIENDLY FROLICS.** By Osa L. Dunbar. Abingdon Press, 1924.
- WHAT SHALL WE PLAY.** By Edna Geister. Doran, 1924.
- GAMES AND RECREATIONAL METHODS FOR CLUBS, CAMPS AND SCOUTS.** By Chas. F. Smith. Dodd, 1924.
- GAMES, CONTESTS AND RELAYS.** By S. C. Staley. Barnes, 1924.
- WHAT CAN WE DO.** By Playground and Recreation Association of America. 1925.
- BOOK OF ORIGINAL PARTIES.** By Ethel Owen. Abingdon Press, 1925.
- HANDBOOK OF GAMES AND PROGRAMS.** By Wm. R. LaPorte. Abingdon Press, 1925.
- ICE-BREAKERS AND THE ICE-BREAKER HERSELF.** By Edna Geister. Doran, 1925.
- PRACTICAL PARTIES.** By Ella S. Bowles. Women's Press, 1926.
- EDUCATIONAL STORY PLAYS AND SCHOOLROOM GAMES.** By Emily Elmore and Marie L. Carns. Barnes, 1926.
- PLAY ACTIVITIES FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.** By Dorothy LaSalle. Barnes, 1926.
- 88 SUCCESSFUL PLAY ACTIVITIES.** By Playground and Recreation Association of America. 1927.
- PHYSICAL EDUCATION**
- PHYSICAL TRAINING LESSONS.** By William A. Stecher. McVey, 1924.
- EDUCATION THROUGH PHYSICAL EDUCATION.** By Agnes Wayman. Lea, 1925.
- A BRIEF HISTORY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION.** By Emmett A. Rice. Barnes, 1926.
- THE NEW PHYSICAL EDUCATION.** By Thos. D. Wood and Rosalind F. Cassidy. Macmillan, 1927.
- FUNDAMENTAL DANISH GYMNASTICS.** By Dorothy Sumption. Barnes, 1927.
- STUNTS AND SELF-TESTING ACTIVITIES.** By Martin Rodgers. Macmillan, 1927.
- THE CONDUCT OF PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.** By Wilbur P. Bowen. Barnes, 1927.
- AN ATHLETIC PROGRAM FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.** By Leonora Andersen. Barnes, 1927.
- BOYS' AND GIRLS' CLUBS**
- FIRST PRINCIPLES OF BOYS' CLUB LEADERSHIP.** By C. E. Ford. Baker, 1922.
- THE GIRL GUIDE'S BOOK.** By M. C. Carey. Stokes, 1923.
- GROUP LEADERS AND BOY CHARACTER.** By A. J. Gregg. Association Press, 1924.
- CLUBS—MAKING AND MANAGEMENT.** By Renee B. Stern. Rand, McNally, 1925.
- EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.** By Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Public School Book. Pub. Co., 1926.
- HANDBOOK OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.** By Harold D. Meyer. Barnes, 1926.
- THE GANG AGE.** By Paul H. Furfey. Macmillan, 1926.
- GIRLS' CLUBS.** By Helen Ferris. Dutton, 1926.
- EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN THE SCHOOL.** By H. C. McKown. Macmillan, 1927.
- EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.** By Jos. Roemer and C. F. Allen. Heath, 1927.

## THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

BRUCE L. MELVIN

- SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN A RURAL NEW ENGLAND TOWN.** By James Lowell Hypes. New York. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1927. 102 pp. \$1.50.
- AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES.** By Edmund de S. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, and Majorie Patten. New York: George H. Doran, 1927. 326 pp. \$3.50.
- VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.** By Edmund deS Brunner. New York: George H. Doran, 1927. 244 pp. \$2.25.

*Social Participation in a Rural New England Town* is a sociological study of a town (township) located near the central part of the state of Connecticut. The purpose of the work, which was adhered to in the presentation of the data was to make a "quantitative study in primary group behavior." This involved the analysis of membership and participation in the activities of primary groups which

included schools; churches and subsidiary organizations; economic organizations, like the farm bureau and creamery associations; fraternal groups, as the K. of P. and Grange; civic groups like the town government and community clubs; and athletic and recreational associations such as basketball and base-ball teams; being 59 in all. These various organizations and institutions were classified into formal and informal; and the participation in membership and activities of them for different nationalities, Americans, Poles, Germans, Jews and others was compared.

The Americans dominated in the membership of the formal organizations; the average American household belonging to 5.2 organizations, average Polish to 2, the German 1, and Jewish 2.4. "Outside of church and high school attendance, the foreigners do not engage to any appreciable extent in the formal group activities of the town" (p. 21). On the other hand the Germans and Poles predominate in informal athletic and recreational activities.

The athletic and recreational activities had the highest percentage index of attendance while the economic activities had the poorest. In attendance in the informal activities the Germans and Poles ranked above the Americans.

The factors which were analyzed to find their influence on membership and participation were nationality; age and sex; mortgages and tenure; means of communication; geographic factors including soil types and climate; cultural background; and economic conditions.

In handling the data the author made excellent use of indices and the correlation coefficients. The comparisons of attendance for the different nationalities in both the formal and informal organizations were made by the index of participation. Correlation coefficients were computed for

the attendance on the different organizations to determine specific relationships. High correlation coefficients were found between the town meetings and fraternal orders, economic and recreational group participation, town meetings and neighborhood visiting, to select only three.

Two very important facts stand out from this study; the urban influence is coming to dominate the rural areas and the old rural community is gone in that region.

This publication is an important addition to the growing field of rural sociology; it has made a contribution in helping to carve out more definitely the field of sociology and to add materially to methodology of the subject.

*American Agricultural Villages* is an interpretive volume giving the significant results of the study of 140 villages made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The book gives a mass of detailed facts regarding these villages which are scattered in different regions of the United States and designated as Middle Atlantic, South, Middle West, and Far West.

The villages and their activities and institutions are studied in relation to the region in which they are located and the size of the adjacent, contributing open country area. Three groups are made of the villages,—small, those with a population from 250 to 1000; medium, from 1000 to 1750; and large, 1750 to 2500.

Numerous facts are presented dealing with the village and country relations, the village as a service station, public schools, churches, social organizations, public health and politics. The assumption upon which the whole work is done is that the economic situation of the farmers in the surrounding areas is primary in determining the activities and conditions of the village institutions and organizations. The size of the community areas



and character of the neighborhoods depend upon region; one important function of the village is that of storing farm products, but what those products are rests upon place.

The schools of the villages are highly efficient; they serve village and country, have well trained teachers. Generally it is the leading institution. These places suffer from over-churching, and the more churches the better the ministers are trained; but this training is due to the competition and not to the desire for efficiency on the part of the denominational leaders. As the number of churches rises the number of the emotional sects increases; this the mark of inefficiency. Lodges are very important in numbers, constituting nearly one-third of the village organizations. The lodges likewise have more country members than any of the other organized groups. The socio-educational-recreational activities furnished by newspapers, movies, libraries, clubs, etc. afford means of cultural life in these centers.

Valuable beginnings in methodology have been made in the creation of indices and the use of correlations. The household index and the per capita index in terms of the money valuations were used for comparative purposes. By this means the attendance in the village institutions was correlated with the wealth which comparatively measured institutional efficiency.

This book and the others that have preceded it have added very materially to the data and methodology in the field of rural sociology.

*Village Communities* is the last and the summary volume "embodying the results of a national study of the agricultural village and its community in the United States made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research during 1923, 1924, and

1925." The most significant findings are contained in this book.

The villages as a whole in the United States are not declining in population; their rate of gain during the last twenty years has been four times the rate of the rural population outside the incorporated places. The villages have a larger percentage of native born than have the cities; the number of females predominate in them; they have a high proportion of old people; and the agricultural villages have few children.

The agricultural villages have definite trade areas surrounding them; much of the economic life is closely related to the farm economic condition. In some cases harmony between villagers and farmers prevailed, while in others conflicts are present, the chief overt causes being inadvertent acts on the part of the villagers. The institution that creates and maintains harmony more than any other is the high school. This is due to the mutual interest of village and country in education. The village churches are generally more active and stronger in membership than those in the surrounding rural territory; the churches of the villages do not reach the people of the open country as they do the villagers.

The village is a face-to-face group; people are well acquainted; they know the life history of each other.

Numerous secondary groups exist,—fraternal, civic, social, economic, patriotic, educational, athletic, musical, and some religious. Some villages are over-organized, others under; but all are lacking in organizations for young people.

Over one-half the book is taken up with a general description of eight different villages selected from various sections. These accounts are semi-popular, the descriptions being more on the order of journalistic reports than scientific analy-

ses. Nevertheless, the person interested in the village as a socio-economic group, can find much worthwhile in these eight typical village cases.

The students of rural sociology owe much to Dr. Brunner and his staff of

workers for the research on the villages and the reports they have made. The factual material they have given was especially needed, and the methodology they have created and used marks a step in the advancement of rural sociology as a science.

## MEXICO AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

ALVA W. TAYLOR

**THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.** By J. Fred Rippy. New York: Knopf, 1927. 401 pp. \$5.00.

**THE CHURCH'S FATE IN MEXICO.** By Wilfred H. Callcott. Durham, N. C.: Duke University, 1927. 356 pp. \$3.00.

**THE PEOPLE NEXT DOOR.** By George Creel. New York: John Day, 1927. 418 pp. \$4.00.

**THE MEXICAN QUESTION.** By William English Walling. New York: Robins Press, 1927, 205 pp. \$2.00.

An authoritative and well documented historical account of diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico during the past one hundred years. The narrative reveals an expansionist spirit in our policy towards Mexico from the first. Slavery is found to have retarded rather than to have increased this tendency. The records show much spread-eagle talk about destiny by statesmen on this side and no little play upon popular fears by politicians on the other side. We have not hesitated to brandish the big stick nor have we always spoken softly, while Mexican politics has been corrupt and ambitious men have subordinated the common good to personal power. Santa Ana especially was guilty of resorting to Yankee-phobia as a means of covering up his corrupt regime and distracting the people from internal issues. European diplomats have often sought to "clip the eagle's wings" by stimulating Mexican enmity. It is not a pleasant story for Americans to read but it is a healthy thing

for them to do it, and to be reminded that the Anglo-Saxon urge toward imperialism has played no small part in our diplomatic history, covered as it may have been by equivocations regarding rights and duties. The story of filibustering along the border uncovers a chapter in frontier life which is, happily for Mexican-American relations, over, but the story of filibustering tactics on the part of American capital makes up a latter chapter that deserves close study if we are to deal ethically with our smaller neighbor. The author sees the possibility of continued conflict through the growing demands of American capital for investment abroad and the rising spirit of nationalism in Mexico. On the other side he finds labor, the churches and the humanitarians. It is a question of which will control the policy of our government.

While Callcott's book covers the period from 1822 to 1857 only, it is especially interesting because the present religious controversy in Mexico is only a resurgence of the controversy of the fifties and sixties under Juarez and his famous reform laws. This period of thirty-five years saw the rise of the protest against clerical privileges and its battle up to the adoption of the Constitution in 1857, in which Church and State were separated and the privileges of the priests, along with those of the army, taken away.

A sample of the story is given in the

account of the reaction of the hierarchy to the *leys* (laws) Juarez. "On pain of drastic ecclesiastical penalties, the clergy were ordered not to renounce their *fueros* (privileges). When the news reached Rome, on December 15, the Pope pronounced an anathema against Juarez. On the other hand, the liberals maintained that the ecclesiastical *fuego* had been a privilege, not a right, and that as a privilege it could be revoked by the power that conferred it. They also claimed that the clergy had excited the people, not by emphasizing the real question of *fueros*, but by so associating it with the fundamentals of religion as to secure fanatical support for a weak cause. Since the law struck at the privileges of the army, a coalition of the Church and army was invited against the government." We hope Professor Callcott will complete the story by bringing the account down through the reactionary regime of Diaz to the resurgence of the spirit of Juarez in Obregon and Calles.

George Creel puts the fire of enthusiasm into his phrases—a fire kindled by convictions that all historians of Mexico will not share. The more academic minded will incline to say his book is quite as much propaganda as history. It bears evidence, however, of thorough study and, if there is the taint of bias in it, it is a very wholesome moral bias—a protest against dictatorships, imperial policies and the presumptions of capitalistic exploitation. The stories of Hidalgo, Morelos, Juarez and Madero are made to thrill the reader with the intrepidity of these emancipators; that of Obregon and Calles is a defense of their patriotic devotion and of their ability to consolidate the gains of the revolution. The author is convinced that they will give the country stability, peace and social progress if our government will lend them an altruistic hand.

Carranza is depicted as an honest man, but so born to the purple of the old landlord regime that he was incapable of realizing the social aspirations of the revolution. Obregon is wholly exonerated of his murder. Mr. Creel makes a warm defense of Texan and American action in the war of mid-forties. He quotes the records to disprove the common belief, fostered by northern partizans, that the slave states desired conquest. Santa Ana is depicted in colors that make him a veritable diabolos of Mexican history. Zachary Taylor's picture is turned to the wall as an American hero. Woodrow Wilson's policy is warmly defended and that of yankee oil and land investors in Mexico is firmly indicated. If the author is something of a propagandist he can be forgiven on the plea that propaganda is inescapable in a good ethical treatment of any living subject.

Mr. Walling gives a very readable, concise account of Mexican-American relations since the beginning of the revolution in 1910, and of the social program of the Calles administration. The conflict between American capitalism and Mexican nationalism is set forth in a factual manner. The precedents set by Woodrow Wilson are treated critically, illustrating how even the concrete steps taken by a benign administration may become precedents for the use of a less unselfish intervention. Mr. Wilson intervened to protect lives and property against the anarchy of revolution and no government; his action is then used as a precedent for intervention, or the threat of it, when American investors object to the acts of a stable and regularly constituted government. The question raised by the Coolidge-Kellogg policy relating to the conflict of foreign investors with a "non-capitalistic" government, is as to whether we will demand that our capital invested in Mexico, and other



small countries needing development, shall have the privileges, immunities and guarantees given them under our own laws, or whether they shall submit to the laws of the governments under which they have made the investments. Mr. Walling gives a detailed account of the social program of the Calles administration, though one could wish it were better documented. This section of the book was approved as authentic by President Calles. It is a heartening story, yet one that reveals the almost super-human task that confronts Calles and Obregon in their efforts to transform the social order from one of feudalism, dictatorship and clericalism to one of modern social democracy. Illiteracy, superstition, tribalism and millions of unassimilated indigines further complicate the problem. The author puts squarely the question as to whether we will make it our policy primarily to protect capital or to lend a helping hand in the undertaking.

**SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY.** By Charles C. Stillman.  
New York: Century, 1927, 254 pp.

Interest in social work publicity has been stimulated by the emphasis on the part of leaders of the community chest movement upon the importance of securing and holding the confidence of the contributing public. The addition to the Social Workers' Library Series of this volume by Mr. Charles C. Stillman, the Executive Secretary of the Grand Rapids Welfare Union, is a disappointing effort to adapt this publicity to the sound objectives of social work.

The author criticizes frankly the readiness of community chest leaders to be content with publicity which is directed towards what he terms "the realization of immediate goals only" and which has led to the use of campaign posters and slogans stressing the incidental parts of a

social work program but giving little attention to its fundamental objectives. He advocates educational publicity "to lead the entire public to register progress in intellectual appreciation of the facts or underlying philosophy of any sound movement, thus affording a background which may be depended upon for continuous moral and financial support."

Yet the book does little to clarify the technique of educational publicity. For the most part, it is concerned with the use of advertising schemes which are borrowed from the field of business. Materials drawn from the experiences of community chest campaigns are used to illustrate the effective and ineffective use of such schemes as the newspaper, the spoken word, the 'direct by mail,' the stage, screen, contests, displays, and stunts. "High-powered" salesmen in social work are demanded by such phrases as: "Each and every complaint reaching the office of a social service organization should be sympathetically handled on a salesmanship basis;" "Every social worker is a potential salesman;" and "The acid test of a social worker's salesmanship and of the validity of his organization's program is the effort to interest a business man in that program for its educational value to the community. To seek a man's time and expect a hearing when the objective is to secure his moral support based on his appreciation of the underlying purposes of the social service movement connotes a genuine message and a genuine salesman." If the encroachment of business control upon social work through the medium of the community chest movement continues, such technicians will be in greater and greater demand. The book substantiates the position of those who declare that the central financing of social work emphasizes methods that insure success in

the financing rather than in the interpretation of social work practice.

Social workers and others interested in social work as a growing profession and in publicity as a means of interpreting its function and technique will hesitate to reconcile themselves with this frank acceptance of the campaign as the inevitable method of finance and in the centering of the technique of publicity in pretentious advertising schemes.

MARION HATHWAY.

*University of Washington.*

THE CHURCH IN THE CHANGING CITY. By H. Paul Douglass. New York: Doran, 1927. 453 pp. \$4.00.

The familiar "encroachment of commercial and industrial developments, with their tributary foreign population, upon a residential area once predominantly American," may force the choicest members of a pastor's flock to less trampled pastures, from whence some may later return to the fold when it displays richer outcroppings of apartment houses and hotels. Sixteen exceptional city churches are intensively analyzed by the author to show something of the range of adaptations occurring under such circumstances.

The church sometimes retains much of its former constituency either by moving to the suburbs with them, or by making a strong, selective appeal without change of location. Else the church may by crafty publicity methods attract a city-wide notice which, to a certain extent, removes the disadvantages of a down-town location. Again, there is the possibility of drawing a membership from more remote but socially and economically richer strata while ministering to the immediate locality with separate subsidiary activities.

Through such transitional compromise cases the reader is gradually introduced

to those churches which definitely concern themselves with their deteriorated environment through multitudinous community enterprises ranging from dental clinics to millinery classes. Though the church remains the core of such organizations, sometimes these overshadowing week-day activities are responsible for 69 per cent or more of the total attendance. The next logical step passes outside of the church field entirely and the Christian center or settlement house comes into being.

This work, with its liberal maps and tables, exhibits the usual thoroughness of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Not only does it offer to social theory new aspects of the inter-relations and adaptations of specific spheres of culture, but, in its comparative analysis of such individual church details as historical background, membership traits, and relationship to other social agencies, it brings to applied sociology a broader and more definite concept of the church as a problem and a solver of problems in modern urban communities.

NEWBELL NILES PUCKETT.

*Western Reserve University.*

RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT AMONG NEGROES IN WASHINGTON, D. C. By William H. Jones. Washington: Derricotte and Company, 1927. 216 pp. \$2.50.

"The purpose of this study is to present . . . a description and interpretation of the recreational and amusement aspects of Negro life in the National Capital." "Play and entertainment influence cultural patterns and institutions." Poor Negro recreational facilities influence "scores of light-complexioned Negroes to pass as white in attendance at white theaters, receptions, and other forms of entertainment." It is largely from such Negroes "that the racial group gets its

copies and models of higher forms of leisure-time activity."

Washington provides separate Negro playgrounds, but the mobile population sometimes leaves white playgrounds like open sores in neighborhoods otherwise abandoned to colored people. Active community centers are in evidence at various schools, the Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A., the church being more or less impotent in its effort to reconcile spiritual and moral guidance with such dances as the "Black Bottom," the "Bump," and "Prosperity Crawl. Though Washington is more or less unique in its leisure-time activities centering around Howard University and the Armstrong and Dunbar high schools, restaurants, clubs, museums, and other informal recreational factors have their usual importance. "Nearly every Negro barber shop is a social center," being often equipped with electric pianos and radios.

The photoplay is the most common commercialized amusement for the Negro group, in part due to discriminations practised at the downtown white theaters. The problems of the dance halls and cabarets are not essentially different from those of the whites, but the pool rooms are especially mobilization centers, "charged rather with magic, superstition, imitation, and competition," than with "sex stimulation and catharsis." Among the "pathological forms of recreation," prostitution and gambling stand out conspicuously.

Though there is sometimes a tendency to over-emphasize the element of catharsis in recreation and the value of play activities in cultural assimilation, in the main the volume offers a valuable pioneer contribution in the field of leisure-time behavior. It is to be hoped that the later studies of Housing and Negro-White Contacts will continue the detailed studies

and suggestive practical recommendations of this first of the Howard University Studies in Urban Sociology.

NEWBELL NILES PUCKETT.

*Western Reserve University.*

FEAR: The Autobiography of James Edwards. By John Rathbone Oliver. New York: Macmillan, 1926. 366 pp. \$2.50.

This book is an interesting venture. It is not a detective mystery, as might be surmised from its lurid jacket. The author, who purports to be a physician, perhaps a psychiatrist, is fundamentally a religionist—with both a convert self and a missionary self. The combination of religious and psychiatric therapeutics is nothing new. But this attempt to "put it over" by means of a case study done in fictional first person is, I think, nearly unique.

The patient in the story is drawn as a business man who started as a country boy. He is made to represent himself as too typically bourgeois to have written such a chatty, keen and "literary" analysis either of himself or of the psychiatrist. For some, the use of the first person may make it easier to "identify" vividly with the patient and thus be helped personally by his "cure." For others, the story will be more convincing on the case study level, as an observer's description couched in an unusual form.

This effort to combine fiction and science is praiseworthy, but its success is of the "almost but not nearly" variety. One difficulty is that the critical reader is not assured of the real purpose of the author. Is he primarily trying to tell a good story? Or to present vividly a certain type of case (the anxiety or compulsion neurosis) and a certain type of cure (by religion)? Or is he trying to advance a propaganda; viz., that religion is an indispensable in psychiatric cases,—or



even the Church of England as the most curative?

No one questions that the Emanuel Movement has value for many cases. No one doubts that a competent psychiatrist might in a given case select and apply the line of treatment here described. There is much good stuff, attractively told, in the first half or two-thirds of the book. The climax is well carried through; it holds one. But then comes a touch of vicarious resentment, for the sake of the reader who has been hoping for a solution of his own fears, and who, because his own religious, temperamental, and intellectual experience and character presents a resistance to religiosity of this, or any other kind, may feel that he has asked for bread and been given the same old stone with a frosted camouflage.

As a case study, or as a prescription for certain selected persons, the book is of value. It is hard to think, however, that a competent physician could, as a physician, advance (as it were by correspondence) *any* prescription, mental or physical, as *the* best remedy for all persons who have morbid fears. It may be that persons who have morbid fears are apt to be of the sort whose emotional and affectional security can frequently be built up on early religious experiences. *Salvation* was *safety*, first. But there are many mansions of religious refuge, and still other salvations not ordinarily considered religious.

A still more fundamental point remains to be noted. It is a question whether either the patient or the psychiatrist is thoroughly adjusted at the end of this book.

Every patient who "studies with" a psychiatrist doubtless thinks he is a special "friend" of his. This rather well-known "transference" of affectional yearnings, from early attachments or futile

gropings to the physician, is rather obvious to an initiated reader of *Fear*. It is upon this basis of confidence and security that a psychiatrist bases his "cure." The case is not complete, however, until he has gently re-transferred this sometimes rather sentimental rapport, over to some more stable love-object in the life of the patient, so that the physician can "get out from under" the case without its relapsing. In this case the psychiatrist shows the patient an image of Christ through the more or less translucent image of his own personality, and the trick is turned. But this second meaning, while permanent so long as belief and faith last, is still a transference to a type of personal dependence, not of personal independence. Emotionally the patient is still bottle-fed. To use psycho-analytic lingo (fortunately avoided by Dr. Oliver) this patient does not overcome the terrifying father-image by himself *becoming* the independent adult in the father's image. He "seeks sanctuary" in mother church, as a child. It is a regressive and introvertive emotional behavior pattern, which may or not work in "Mr. Edwards'" cosmetic business.

Whether our author is esoterically aware of the mechanism of the "transference" in this case is not clear. If not, it is a tribute to his sound descriptive and narrative observation in the case. If he is "wise to it," he must make his psychiatrist-hero deliberately esoteric, withholding from the patient the disillusioning truth which would free him from infantile leanings, lest the patient be not strong enough to keep his own balance in a propless world.

White, in *The Meaning of Disease*, says we shall some day refer to various "healths" as we now specify the several "diseases." It may be that the religious convert has one of the mental healths, or

equilibria. It may be that the self-sacrificing physician or confessor has another of the healths. But of these protagonists in *Fear*, neither ends up in a very stable state of mind. The business man gets rid of the ritualistic symbols of his anxiety, and apparently acquires a sounder scale of life-valuations, but he ostensibly substitutes another more or less imaginary and emotionally charged symbolism and life-attitude which might or might not prove permanent. He catches it from the masochistic psychiatrist rather than from the rather fullblooded bishop. A psychiatrist who registers an adolescent emotional tantrum for the benefit of a

patient at a movie rehearsal of the crucifixion is either a past-grand actor or needs to be psyched himself. Is this the cure of souls?

The answer seems to be, *Relativity*. A compensating equilibrium such as we call "health" is stable just so long as it moves in a closed social universe of discourse which does not disturb it.

William Blake referred once to "the fires of hell . . . which to the Angels look like torment and insanity." And where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.

THOMAS D. ELIOT.

*Northwestern University.*

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- INDUSTRIAL INFLUENCE ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF JESUS. By Jesse Hickman Bond. Boston: Gorham, 1925. 155 pp.
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- THE WORKER AND HIS JOB. (Outlines for the Use of Workers' Groups) Edited by E. C. Carter. New York: The Inquiry, 1927. 65 pp. \$.75.
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